

# Which Way to Lasting Peace?

A series of radio broadcasts over the network of  
the Columbia Broadcasting System, in cooperation  
with the

## COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

### The Problem of the Far East

March 9th, 1940, 6:30 to 6:45 E.S.T.

#### SPEAKERS

DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL, *Chairman*

MR. ROGER S. GREENE

*Member of the Commission*

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DR. SHOTWELL: First a word about the purpose of this series and the outlook of those taking part in it. The members of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace share to the full the anxious desire that the United States should not be drawn into the present war. It follows that we do not touch upon such questions as the formulation of armistice or treaty terms by the belligerents. As a neutral we have no part in these. But the Commission believes that all the people in the world have an interest in the long range peace terms that must follow this war, and that they should be such that the bases of permanent peace may be laid, strengthened and supported by an informed public opinion.

There was fighting near the railway station at Mukden, Manchuria, on the night of the 18th of September, 1931. The Japanese, claiming that there had been an explosion on their railroad line, attacked the Chinese. The League of Nations was in session at the time and proposed sending a commission to investigate the facts, but on receiving word that there was a chance of the Chinese and Japanese settling the dispute by themselves, postponed action for ten days which proved to be decisive days in the history of Asia and the world. For the young officers of the Japanese army then went ahead with the conquest of Manchuria, making it difficult and finally impossible for the League of Nations to mediate successfully. This challenge of the League by the Japanese militarists, which was largely due to divided counsels on

the part of the nations that wished for peace, lessened the influence of the League which was later defied in turn by Italy, Germany and Russia.

This short summary of the antecedents of the present war, shows how closely East and West interact in the great drama of world politics today and how impossible it is for the organization of peace to succeed in one part of the world unless it is safeguarded in other parts as well.

Our subject tonight is the Far East. The speaker, Mr. Roger Greene, who is a member of this Commission, spent his childhood in Japan and many years in our consular service in Japan, China and Siberia, and also as Director of the great Rockefeller Medical Center in Peking. Mr. Greene does not propose any ready-made solution for the peace of the Orient, but points out the need of our understanding the issues which are at stake as a first step towards the effective building of any organization of peace.

MR. GREENE: While we are absorbed by the wars in western and northern Europe, we are reminded from time to time that there is another great war in eastern Asia, causing immense loss and suffering to both the Chinese and the Japanese people, a war which to us seems as fatal for the invader as for the victim. This war is further from us, yet we are already badly entangled in it. Our peaceful business interests in both countries are suffering. The innocent Japanese farmers and workers can no longer buy freely the American cotton that they need, since the money they usually spend for it must be used to buy arms.

Nor can the Japanese cotton mills make profits by turning our cotton into textiles for sale to China. Naturally our cotton farmers suffer. In China our businessmen find their sales reduced both because their Chinese customers have been ruined and because the Japanese army has shut them out from normal trade routes. At the same time our unhealthy sales of war materials to Japan are swollen to feed the arsenals and to move the invading armies by truck and aeroplane. Normally we get from China many useful raw materials. The war has reduced by half the amount of such goods that we can get, causing much inconvenience and loss to some of our industries.

We have another interest in the Far East in the great missionary enterprise, which has as its object to share with other nations some of the things we most value, in religion, in education and in health. This movement is represented by thousands of American missionaries, teachers, doctors and nurses who

have helped to build up the new China and the new Japan.

These countries once lived in almost complete isolation, wanting nothing from us, and contributing little or nothing that we needed, but with the improvement of communications our relations with them have become constantly more important. In the forty years from 1898 to 1937 the foreign trade of Japan increased 14 times from less than half a billion yen to nearly seven billions, and there is no sign that this process has stopped. China's development has been slower, but her trade has tripled during the same period, and when peace returns the growth there will probably be as remarkable as it has been in Japan. In every way the peoples of the east and of the west are coming closer together.

The most serious threat to peace in the East comes from the fact that the people of Asia are far less fortunate than we are in their chance for a safe and healthful life. Many of them live on the edge of starvation. Floods and droughts cause millions of deaths every year. Diseases which we have conquered still take a heavy toll among them. We feel that opportunities for our people are less than they used to be, but even in years of depression our wealth is far beyond theirs. This contrast is dangerous.

The people of Asia are much more like us than most Americans think. Their minds are as good as ours, as their ancient civilizations show. In the techniques of modern science they learn to do practically everything that we do. For long, most of them were ignorant that people in other parts of the world were better off than they, and if any ever thought of the contrast they probably did not believe that there was anything that they could do about it. So in France before the revolution the peasants dumbly accepted their hard lot while the aristocracy were living in luxury. But now things are changing in the East as they changed in France in 1789. Modern communications, education, books and newspapers, and now the movies, have made them understand the vast difference between their position and ours. They saw the victory of Japan over Russia thirty-five years ago, and they have seen how Japan has violated the rights of western powers in China. They have come to feel that injustices and inequalities can perhaps be corrected by force. So not unnaturally they set themselves to get the arms that they need to secure the respect that they consider due to themselves. They easily learn how to fight modern wars, and they feel their position so keenly that they are willing to make sacrifices for military power that more prosperous nations are unwilling to make. A fateful choice is

therefore open to us. Are we going to sit tight, in the exclusive enjoyment of one of the most favored parts of the world, with our higher standard of living, and depend on distance and superior force to maintain our privileged position? Are we going to refuse to share in building up a rule of law and social justice among the nations, and decline to cooperate in trying to raise the less fortunate to our level?

That course seems easier now, but it may not seem so wise ten, twenty or thirty years from now. We may find presently that our Asiatic neighbors have greater military power than we; that they have been toughened by hardship and are ready to dispute our privileged position by force of arms, if we really prefer to rely on force rather than on law and justice. Now is the time, while we are still strong, to consider our relations with Asia in a different spirit. I have no set formula to offer now, but we do need to think hard about this situation while there is still time.

With China and Japan absorbed in their own conflict, the larger crisis which I have tried to describe may be postponed. Let us consider for a moment the present situation.

Any one who has lived in Japan and is well acquainted with the Japanese people must be impressed with their many admirable qualities. There are not many nations whose people show greater industry and power of application. Living in a country with modest resources they have succeeded in making the most of what they have, and even the relatively poor often live on a surprisingly decent level, with much appreciation of some of the finer things of life and of nature. They suffer from one great misfortune in the inheritance of a mediaeval military tradition which glorifies the sword, and to this day the people delight in the romantic tales of bloody adventure of which their history is full. It must be remembered that it is less than seventy years since the feudal system ended in Japan. If our own parents and grandparents had lived in the days of the Three Musketeers our ideas would probably be different from what they are today.

Japan has now acquired the techniques of modern civilization; modern public health measures have caused an enormous increase of population, and the spread of education has resulted in a large surplus of trained people who find no adequate outlet for their talents in their own little islands. Their best hope seemed to be in the further development of manufacturing industries and in foreign trade. Such enterprises had already greatly increased the wealth of Japan, and might have been enough to bring about a greater well-being among the masses if so much



of their resources had not been taken by the government for naval and military armaments quite out of proportion to their means and their needs. Hence the attempt of their ambitious military leaders to conquer new territory on the mainland.

Such expansion, however, is no solution of the problem of the Far East, since the lands which the Japanese army has seized belong to a people still poorer than themselves, who need the space that they possess for their own development. Also this imperialistic adventure has made still heavier the burden of militarism which the people of Japan have to carry, and has set back their own progress towards a freer life at home.

We who have been brought up in the democratic tradition believe that on the whole most people can in the long run work out their own salvation better than others can do it for them. Certainly no intelligent and active people will long remain content under a foreign rule. Therefore it seems that eastern Asia cannot become truly stable and peaceful unless the Chinese succeed in maintaining their independence.

I cannot mention here all the others parts of Asia which need to be taken into account. Indo-China, the Philippines, which are to be independent after 1946, and India. All present problems of one kind or another.

Unless we bear in mind such less known parts of the world as Asia and unless we give those regions a chance to share in planning for the organization of peace, we are in grave danger of building only a confederation of peoples of European stock set off from and antagonistic to peoples of other races, and perhaps preparing thus for still another world war, which might prove more terrible than any that went before.

In spite of the discouraging features of the situation these are some foundations to build upon.

Forty years ago John Hay, then Secretary of State, secured from all the great powers acceptance of the principle of the Open Door and equal opportunity for all nations based on recognition of the integrity of China.

Eighteen years ago nine powers, including China, Japan and the United States, embodied these principles in a solemn treaty, not as a result of a war, but by free and willing consent of all the parties.

Under such auspices a new government came into power in China, which gave promise of a new life in that great country. China in the past was a civilizing influence in East Asia and still has valuable contributions to make to the world, perhaps to a new

scale of values in which humane considerations may weigh more heavily than the verbal contracts and vested property rights which we have sometimes over-valued.

In all our planning of the new world order it is these moral values which we must keep in mind as the motive force without which we cannot have an effective organization of peace, and in this work every nation, these ancient civilizations of the East as well as our own newer society, has its contribution to make.

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## QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the ways in which the United States is directly concerned by the struggle between Japan and China.
2. What action should we take under present circumstances with regard to stopping shipments of war materials to Japan?
3. How can economic and social conditions in the Far East be improved? What can and should the United States do to further such improvement?
4. Do you think the Philippines should be given their independence in 1946?

## REFERENCES

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For further references consult the *STUDY OUTLINE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE*. Study Outlines at 5c., to cover mailing costs, may be obtained from the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. Prizes are offered for the best recommendations from study groups using this outline.

## RADIO PROGRAMS

These two series of nation-wide radio programs over the Columbia Broadcasting System will continue weekly through May 4:

4:00 to 4:30 P.M. (E.S.T.) Student "Bull Session" discussions on the problems of the Organization of Peace.

6:30 to 6:45 P.M. (E.S.T.) Dr. James T. Shotwell and others on the Study of the Organization of Peace.

The student discussions will be related each week to Dr. Shotwell's broadcast of the week before.

Local CBS stations will carry these broadcasts.

Reprints of Dr. Shotwell's broadcasts, with questions and reading lists, obtainable from:

## COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

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May 20, 1940

To the Yenching Trustees  
and Other Friends:

Enclosed herewith are four communications recently received from Dr. Stuart.

You will note that one of them is a very confidential statement and should be carefully guarded.

The longer letter from Kunming and the briefer statement from Hongkong are of a more general nature and can be used as freely as you desire.

The statement on the religious life of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek is not confidential in the same sense as the letter discussing political conditions, but should because of its nature be used sympathetically and in no way that might cause embarrassment to Dr. Stuart or General and Madame Chiang.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "B. F. Garside". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first letters of the first and last names being capitalized and prominent.

Secretary

JD



Kunming, Yunnan  
April 5, 1940

To the Board of Trustees:

This report will begin with the conference on rural reconstruction training courses and field practice centers held early in March under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation in China's war-time capital. As you are aware, the Rockefeller Foundation has been actively interested for several years past in promoting this subject as fundamental for national progress and the social welfare of China. It originally took the form of the North China Council for Rural Reconstruction and included the Mass Education Movement, of which Dr. James Yen has been the inspiring leader, together with several higher educational institutions. The field experimental stations had been in Tingsien, Hopei, and in Shantung Province. But with the outbreak of hostilities, most of the organizations concerned moved to the south and the field work was completely disrupted. Those in charge fled from one refuge to another and finally settled in Tingfan, a hsien or county in the far south-west province of Kweichow, after a trek of some 2,000 miles and its ineluctable hardships.

Conditions were naturally unsatisfactory. Tingfan itself was not a typical hsien, its population being a mixture of aborigines and Chinese, their cultural and economic standards very low, and the whole region difficult of access. This remote province has shared in the widespread aerial bombing of civilian populations by Japanese and the capital city nearby has suffered heavily, thus adding to the fear and turmoil. Kweichow has been an opium-growing district and with General Chiang Kai-shek's rigid enforcement of opium suppression, the livelihood of the local people has been affected. Banditry, always rife and impossible to control because of the mountainous terrain and bad roads, has therefore been much aggravated.

The change of site for our Rural Training Institute was only one of many acute issues requiring settlement. There were personal and institutional conflicts of opinion or of interest -- all exacerbated by war-time tensions; the organization and control required radical modification in view of the transfer of several institutions to Free China and the isolation of the Peiping Union Medical College and Yenching in the north; and the Rockefeller Foundation quite naturally was facing the basic problem as to the advisability of going on with its China program in view of all the confusion and the uncertainty as to the outcome of the Japanese invasion.

The result of the conference, however, was completely satisfactory to all concerned. Individual and other disagreements were frankly dealt with and sublimated into the glowing potentialities of the enterprise. The Rural Institute will be centred in the new headquarters of the Mass Education Movement near Chungking (the work at Tingfan to be gradually liquidated), a much simpler and more workable organization was agreed upon, and the functions of the constituent units were clearly defined. The name was changed to the National Council of Rural Reconstruction. In addition to the Mass Education Movement the membership will hereafter

consist of the P. U. M. C. and Yenching in the North, Nankai and Nanking Universities now in the Southwest, and the personnel training division of the Government National Health Administration.

Most important of all, perhaps, was the choice of the Director, Dr. S. Y. Chu, and the unqualified approval his name received. Chu Shih-ying was the outstanding student when Yenching first came into being with less than a hundred students and extremely modest beginnings. He was a leader in the student anti-Japanese movement that broke out in Peking in May, 1919, and one of its national committee when it promptly flared up all over the country. After being awarded our Master's degree, he went to Harvard University, where of course the unknown little university claiming to exist in Peking was unrecognized and unknown. But he was generously allowed to pursue his studies for the doctorate, which, if satisfactory, would entitle him to acceptance of his previous credits. His fine record at Harvard secured this recognition and was the beginning of a relationship between the two institutions which has become increasingly intimate. Equipped with a Harvard doctorate in Education and with his primary interest in Philosophy, the natural procedure would have been to capitalize on this in securing a lucrative job in the government or a national university. But the idealism of "Jimmie" Yen's (himself a Ph. D. from Yale) mass education program had caught his imagination, and for fifteen years he has sacrificed all that the typical Chinese intellectual prizes in order to serve unprivileged common people, having long been the ablest lieutenant of Dr. Yen.

The research and field work in Sociology which Yenching has been carrying on in association with Yunnan University in Kunming under Dr. W. T. Wu will hereafter be administered under the N. C. R. R. and he will be our representative on its Governing Board. Other details of staff as affecting us are under discussion while I am in this region. Most perplexing of these is the place of Mr. Li An-che, a Yenching graduate who joined our faculty after a notable record on a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship in California and Yale, including field studies among the Indians of Old and New Mexico. He has been doing brilliant investigation in China's far Northwest in the interracial problems of Tibetans, Mohammedans, Chinese, etc., which because of its political significance has attracted the attention of government leaders. He has a very strong sense of mission to complete this, but is wanted both back at Yenching to teach and as our chief assignment to the staff of the Rural Institute under the N. C. R. R. He flew from Lanchow to confer with me in Chungking. Yenching must give him up for at least another year, and we are drafting another of our graduates (Northwestern University post-graduate) from Tingfan to take his place, but between Labrang in Chinese Turkestan and the necessity of our putting a first-class man into the Szechuan Rural Institute we are still balancing arguments. This bit of detail will at least suggest to you the wide-flung activities of Yenching over the war-time map of China.

On the adjournment of the conference, Dr. Houghton and I travelled by motor-car to Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichow Province, and to Tingfan, 35 miles south of it. The evening of our arrival at Kweiyang



we had a joint welcome dinner by P. U. M. C. and Yenching graduates, including 14 who are from both. There are two refugee medical schools in that city and the headquarters of the National Red Cross under the leadership of Dr. Robert Lim of the P. U. M. C. We went with him through his entire plant which is one of the finest things I have ever seen in the effective use of extremely simple improvised equipment, the thorough organization, practical training of recruits, and general efficiency. This formerly isolated little capital of the poorest and most backward province of China is now throbbing with new life in war industries, as a transportation center, crowded with refugee schools, promoting cultural and economic reforms, with an influx of people from all the coastal provinces.

The Governor is a wealthy Shanghai banker and the owner of China's outstanding pre-war daily paper, who took this pioneering mission at the request of the Generalissimo and at once turned to Dr. Y. T. Tsur to be his right-hand man. Dr. Tsur, former President of Tsinghua University, one of the most active of the Yenching Board of Managers through our whole history, ditto the P. U. M. C., the Y. M. C. A., and countless other good causes, is working tirelessly in provincial administration including mining, agricultural, manufacturing development schemes, and is the patron of students, visitors, and others needing help. He presided at the welcome dinner and had planned a schedule for us accounting for every hour of our days there. He is the center of a union Tsinghua-P. U. M. C.-Yenching Alumni Club. A suggestive comment of Dr. Tsur to me in talking of his problems was that in general it was only the graduates of mission colleges who had the true spirit of service, the others even in this time of national distress being primarily concerned over their own welfare.

It was in any case encouraging to find so many from the P. U. M. C. and Yenching - regarded as perhaps the two most comfortably equipped in China - serving in this frontier spot. Of the former, Robert Lim proudly remarked that not only in the Red Cross and other local agencies but in every front line medical unit it was represented. Yenching graduates were naturally in much more varied pursuits but they were constantly praised by those we met. The only government tannery in the country is in this city and is headed by three of them. Another is to be started soon in Chengtu and the same will apparently be true. The Y. M. C. A. came into the city for the first time less than two years ago with the influx of students and government employees under the leadership of an experienced Yenching man, now reinforced by two others. It is true also of the Y. W. C. A., the only daily newspaper, and other new enterprises.

One morning we started for Tingfan, stopping for lunch at the Governor's country villa in a new public park, where his daughter and her husband, both Yenching-ians, were present, he doing biological research for increasing the commercial production of the province. The staff of the Tingfan Rural Institute were nearly all Yenching men and women, including several also from the P. U. M. C. They are engaged in hsien administration, public health, education, social organization, agricultural experimentation, etc. It was inspiring to see these young people with the best education, several of whom had also been abroad, enthusiastically

working in this primitive spot. One of them who could not be at the rally that evening because he was out with 8 soldiers chasing bandits and suppressing opium, got up at five o'clock the next morning and walked some fifteen miles to see me before we started back. There are in all, 60 or 70 of our old students in the two places. The last evening was spent with Governor Wu, a friend of many years, in his official residence where with a few of his subordinates we dined together and learned much of their dreams and practical schemes for improving the welfare of the hitherto uncared for inhabitants and making the province count toward national progress, instead of being a drain on the Central Government as it has been for hundreds of years.

On our return to Chungking, I spent several more days there before making a trip to Chengtu. These included an alumni gathering one evening, several smaller parties, and many personal calls from them. In the busy war-capital they seem to be everywhere, in government bureaus, welfare agencies, religious work, schools. The Friends of Wounded Soldiers began when one of them year before last left North China where he was principal of the Changli Methodist school to respond to a summons to help in repairing locomotives. A few days before Christmas he saw the pathetic plight of soldiers suffering from wounds, illness, cold, dejection, neglected, dying. He started in on repairing them as a Christmas resolve and from simple beginnings it is now an official agency covering the whole vast battle line and supported by gifts from all Free China and overseas. General and Madame Chiang's New Life Movement, Christian in all but name, has had the kind of service from our students which led its Director to assure me that he would take as many more as we could send. The Industrial Cooperatives which have spread rapidly over this whole region and are handling millions of dollars seem almost a Yenching affair. At headquarters are Prof. J. B. Tayler, Hubert Liang, and Ralph Lapwood, this last loaned and supported by us for a year with the leave extended now for a second year. Our graduates are scattered all through this significant movement. I shall refrain from further details and sum up by testifying to the good name they are winning for their university, their exuberant loyalty to her and her ideals, and the contribution they are making in many ways to national progress.

On my return from Chengtu, Dr. Kung had planned an elaborate party for them at which something under 200 were present. He had also invited a few others, including the Minister and Vice-minister of Education, the former leading off with a speech in which he put on record the unqualified endorsement by the Government of our policy of staying where we are during the war. The President of the University of Peking (now in Kunming) happened to be in the city on business and followed with a moving and obviously sincere account of our long friendship, and entirely too generous appreciation of what I have tried to do for China's youth and his awareness that this could only be explained by Christian faith. When I first knew him, he was violently anti-Christian latterly determined to let others alone on this subject and asking the same treatment from them, so that this spontaneous testimony was the more striking, and is of course, the only intelligible explanation of what seems to me very faulty efforts. Old General Feng Yu-hsiang, still vigorous, followed with a humorous narrative of incidents concerning the two of us, and after one or two other speeches which embarrassed me but seemed to gratify the students, I had to reply.



An airplane trip from Chungking to Chengtu takes a little over an hour. But one of our boys who after studying the sugar industry at the University of Louisiana has built up for the Government a modern refinery and experimental laboratory half-way on the motor road, wished me to inspect it. Dr. Kung supplied a car with chauffeur and attendant. I also wanted to see the country on my first trip through this great fertile plain. The wife of the British Ambassador hearing of the plan asked if she could go along, as did the wife of the Generalissimo's trusted secretary, Hollington Tong, who had a son studying there. It proved to be a beautiful panorama of rolling farmland with, at this season, masses of flowering fruit trees and yellow rape (this latter now in great demand as a synthetic substitute for gasoline), varied by picturesque wooded rocky hills crowned with temples or pagodas. There was also the recurrent evidence of modern progress in the new factories, arsenals and motor vehicles along the route, together with grim reminders of war in the camps and moving detachments of soldiers. Here as everywhere else in this region, patriotic slogans were on almost every house and wall. Dr. Kung had sent telgrams which amply provided for every attention en route, and when we reached the bus station outside the Chengtu city wall we were met--despite the heavy rain--by a delegation from the Yenching Alumni Association with banners of welcome and representatives of the of the provincial officials with their cards. The less than three full days I could spare for Chengtu were filled to the last minute. There were conferences with the college presidents. I had to pay my respects to the acting governor and other higher officials who in turn gave Lady Clark-Kerr and me a formal dinner. We have about 100 old students in Chengtu, one-third of whom are in some way connected with W.C.U.U. Here as in the other places, my free time was largely spent in visits from individual graduates, learning of their affairs, helping or at least sympathizing with them in their problems.

Back in Chungking I had my final conferences or social events, ending on the evening before my departure in a dinner with the Generalissimo (Madame Chiang has been recuperating from over-strain in Hongkong). This last quiet visit with him was an ideal conclusion to this stay of four weeks in and around Chungking. Our Journalism Club of some twenty odd members had arranged a final dinner for me but they needed no apology when this had to be cancelled. I spent half an hour or so at the table with them before going to the other appointment.

From Chungking to Kunming (or Yunnanfu) is three hours by air or under the best conditions five days by motor-car via Kweiyang. By bus, it may be a week or ten days with good luck. I am spending a week here and start for Hongkong tomorrow by air in two flights. As in the other cities my main objective is the Yenching graduates. A group of them met me at the airfield with a huge bunch of flowers! One of them has somehow secured the loan of a car during my stay, and, what is far more of a privilege, the requisite gasoline. This is getting not only prohibitive in expense but very hard to obtain except for government business. A meeting was planned the following Sunday afternoon in the famous garden of a former governor where a hundred or more were present and--as always--a photograph was taken. As in every instance, they are eager to know what is happening to



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their alma mater cut off from Free China by the hated Japanese occupation. Many of them are teaching in the three refugee "United Universities" from North China--Tsinghua, Peking and Nankai--or in other schools here. Others are working with Dr. W . T. Wu in our own Free China unit for sociological research in association with Yunnan University. Some are doing research in radio spy detection, aviation fuel and similar technical subjects. Others again are in government banks which have opened important branches here or in government bureaus, national, or provincial.

You are aware that we gave Dr. T. C. Chao, Dean of our School of Religion, leave of absence for one year to serve the students of Free China, and that he located in Kunming in an arrangement with Bishop R. O. Hall of Hongkong who has been greatly concerned to meet the rapidly developing religious needs of China's vast new southwest. Together they secured a very modest little meeting place just inside the city gate outside of which are the improvised buildings of the Southwest Associated Universities and their more than 3,000 students. With Dr. Chao are his family, including his daughter and her husband who teaches in the S. W. A. U., both being our graduates. His oldest son is finishing at Yenching but the two younger ones followed the student migration away from Japanese rule and are in the S. W. A. U. He also has as fellow-workers a graduate of our School of Religion of several years ago, and Miss Leatrice Huang who came to us from Honolulu and has both before and after graduation been bravely and successfully overcoming the disabilities of her American upbringing in her resolute dedication to Christian service for China.

With the exception of Miss Huang whose travelling expenses and salary were given by Dr. and Mrs. Theodore Richards of Honolulu, Yenching is bearing all the expenses of this trio of missionaries to their own spiritually needy fellow countrymen living here virtually in exile and under conditions of extreme discomfort. This is made possible by the income from the Gamewell Endowment and is proving of incalculable benefit not only in its immediate purpose but also in the enriched experience which Dr. Chao will doubtless carry back to Yenching and in the continuing bonds thus formed with this area. I preached there Sunday morning, he conducting the service just as he has so long done at Yenching. The little room was not only packed with students well before the hour but all standing room was filled as well as the outer court, the flimsy partitions separating being taken down piece by piece as the service proceeded. It was an impressive demonstration of what this mission has been achieving.

Bishop Hall who had preached at the Easter Service the Sunday previous had stayed on to see me and a letter from the church committee helped me to surmise why. They earnestly pled that Dr. Chao be allowed to stay one more year. I felt a violent conflict of emotions as he himself had been enduring while awaiting my arrival. But apart from all considerations of our own need, I could not from an administrative standpoint approve of university funds used for an extension of this project, although more than ever convinced by what I have seen and heard of its justification for the one year. Bishop Hall himself agreed that this was the right decision, and while on a trip to western Yunnan will try to secure another of the choicest graduates of the School as the surest perpetuation of his teacher's spirit and method.

Two evenings later, I was to meet what I understood to be a little Christian fellowship patterned after those on our campus and composed of students of ours who had transferred to the S. W. A. U. Imagine my feelings on arriving to find a large room of the old temple now converted into academic use filled with students invited by this group to hear a Christian message. After my necessarily impromptu talk the twenty odd members of our own former students, stayed on for a more intimate visit.

I have been writing at the home of Dr. and Mrs. W. T. Wu who have moved to a country town ten miles away to escape the constant threat of air-raids and secure in general better living conditions for their three very attractive little children. She is a graduate of Yenching with her Master's degree from Wellesley and has been since her student days one of the best known, perhaps the best, of living Chinese women writers. Her poems, essays and short stories under her nom-de-plume of Icy Heart (this meaning pure in Chinese) are everywhere read and used in text-books as specimens of modern writing. From the airfield I came here to spend my first twenty-four hours and seized the chance they gave to retreat here for a second visit as the only hope of writing this report while enjoying these very much loved and missed members of our Yenching family.

This section of the report may prove of wearisome length, but I have gone thus fully into an account of my travels in Free China in an attempt to share with you my impressions of the flux and ferment which the war has caused and the phenomenal progress it has brought through this whole southwest region hitherto so inaccessible and undeveloped. There are of course obstacles human and otherwise, and at best only a beginning of what is needed. But the movement is in the right direction, unquestionably sound and sure to continue long after peace has come, revealing the virility of this ancient race and their capacity for modernization and for public-spirited, united effort.

Especially have I wanted you to catch something of the exhilaration I feel in coming into contact everywhere I go with our own graduates. I am frankly sentimental on this subject, but have kept enough of an objective sense to testify to the satisfaction you and all our American friends can feel over the records they are making and the contribution Yenching is having through them to China's welfare. Here again there are disappointments and qualifying deductions, but the percentage is not high, and we can properly rejoice in the results as a whole. More particularly is it comforting to know that even during the period of Japanese occupation, our graduates are slipping over behind the lines and joining in the two-fold struggles for national independence against an eternal foe and for national reconstruction against internal weaknesses. If I have brought myself too much into the story it is only as a symbol of the esteem in which Yenching seems to be held now throughout China.

ASSOCIATED BOARDS  
FOR  
CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN CHINA  
150 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

March 20, 1940

To Members of the  
Associated Boards

Dear Friends,

Enclosed herewith is a copy of a statement which has been prepared and presented to the United States Department of State in Washington in accordance with Action E-1044 of the Associated Boards Executive Committee adopted on November 10, 1939.

In accordance with the instructions of the special committee created by the Action just referred to, Dr. Decker, Mr. Wannamaker, and I saw Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck and Mr. Maxwell M. Hamilton in the Department of State on Friday, March 8, 1940. Our reception was very cordial, and both Dr. Hornbeck and Mr. Hamilton showed themselves to be friendly toward the Christian Colleges in China and in general sympathetic to the viewpoint presented in this statement.

While we were in Washington we also submitted copies to a number of Senators, and had personal conferences with Senator Thomas of Utah and Senator Gillette of Iowa.

Very sincerely yours,



Executive Secretary

BAG:MS  
Enclosure



## A STATEMENT ON THE CONFLICT IN EASTERN ASIA

from the standpoint of

### THE FORCES ENGAGED IN CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN CHINA

#### 1. The Place of the Christian Colleges in the Conflict.

The thirteen Christian universities and colleges now at work in China have been built up during the past seventy-five years. Twelve of them hold charters granted by four states in the United States, one a charter granted by the Dominion of Canada. Their physical plants are valued at more than US\$10,000,000. Their endowment funds, held almost entirely in America, exceed US\$7,000,000. They normally enroll over 6,000 students. Nearly 25,000 of their graduates and former students are scattered all over China. Among these are an amazingly large percentage of the leaders in every sphere of the nation's life - education, the professions, business and industry, social and religious service, and governmental posts. These Colleges, with their graduates and constituencies, form one of the strongest and most productive ties of friendship and understanding between China and the United States.

During the two and a half years of the conflict in Eastern Asia all of these Colleges, despite very serious difficulties, have succeeded in maintaining their work. Despite the necessity of transferring much of their work to temporary locations, of operating under disturbed conditions, and of carrying on with greatly reduced incomes, their academic programs have been continued and extensive relief activities conducted. The Colleges have not only won widespread confidence and gratitude from the Chinese people, but have gained the respect of some of the best Japanese leaders, and have been at many points instruments of mutual understanding between the two countries.

Within the United States, the supporting constituencies of these Colleges include thirteen mission boards, four foundations, and groups representing twenty-seven American universities and colleges. The membership of the churches and other organizations sharing in the support of these Colleges comprises more than one-fourth of the adult population of the United States. American supporters annually provide more than US\$1,000,000 toward the maintenance of these institutions.

Since the beginning of the present conflict American friends, in addition to providing this regular support, have sent out to the Colleges each year more than \$250,000 in emergency funds. Local sponsoring committees have been formed in a score of American cities, and individual contributions have come from every state in the Union.

It is our judgment that the Christian Colleges in China constitute an important outpost of democracy, that they are vital centers of international understanding and cooperation, and that their maintenance

during and after the present crisis is of immense importance not only to the Chinese people but also to the people of the United States. The maintenance of this work requires not only the physical safety of personnel and property, but also surroundings where democratic ideals are preserved and academic freedom maintained. Under any prolonged Japanese military domination it would probably be impossible either to maintain academic freedom or to retain the presence and participation of Chinese members of staff.

## 2. Present Status of the Sino-Japanese Conflict.

The American leaders of these Colleges - both in China and in the United States - believe that the Sino-Japanese conflict has now reached a stalemate that may be of long duration. Such a prolongation of hostilities is likely to have increasingly disastrous effects for all concerned. Each side's losses will probably mount steadily. A growing economic maladjustment may be expected, and the possibility of serious social and industrial disintegration will increase. Both nations may thus become sources of international disease and contagion in the fields of political economy.

If the Japanese militarists should succeed in maintaining a foothold in China, any peace resulting from that outcome would be merely an armistice, in which each side would proceed to strengthen its forces for an even more destructive conflict later.

It is our judgment that Japan could not have continued its invasion this long if it had not secured from the United States a large and increasing supply of essential war materials - airplanes and parts, automobiles and parts, oil and gasoline (particularly high-octene aviation gasoline), iron, copper, zinc, and machinery of various kinds. Since the outbreak of the European war, the percentage of these supplies coming from America has risen rapidly, as other possible sources of supply have been cut off.

## 3. America's Interest in the Sino-Japanese Conflict.

The American leaders of these Colleges believe that, in addition to humanitarian considerations, the United States has definite and vital interests which require an early and equitable settlement of the conflict in Eastern Asia: -

(a) Only through the maintenance of peace, and the independence of both China and Japan, can the vast potential markets of Eastern Asia be developed along lines favorable to American and to world commercial interests.

(b) The strength and independence of both China and Japan are the best guarantees of peace and non-aggression in Eastern Asia.



(c) It is inimical to American economy and security to aid Japan in building up tremendous and aggressive military strength on the Asiatic mainland, against which America must develop costly protective armaments.

(d) America needs the cooperation of a strong and democratic China, and of a vigorous but non-militaristic Japan, in dealing with the present and future problems of the Pacific basin and of the world.

#### 4. Bases for a Just and Enduring Peace in Eastern Asia.

The American leaders of these China Colleges believe that the following are essential bases for a just and enduring peace in Eastern Asia: -

##### (a) From the standpoint of China -

(1) China's political and economic independence must be preserved. Processes must be worked out whereby all foreign nations will unite in returning their foreign concessions to Chinese sovereignty, and in giving up their extraterritorial rights. China must be left free to deal with her own problems in her own way, with neither selfish nor benevolent interference from the outside.

(2) On the other hand, China must prove her ability to maintain peace and order within her borders, and to protect the lives and property of all other nationals living therein. She must allow proper opportunities for trade and commerce, without discrimination against Japan.

##### (b) From the standpoint of Japan -

(1) Japan's sovereignty and honor must be protected. She must not be cut off from access to trade and to raw materials on the Asiatic mainland. She should be relieved of the constant fear of Soviet encroachment on her lands and her ideology. She must have reasonable opportunity for national growth and development, in harmony with the rights of her neighbors. The problem of emigration from Japan should be dealt with by Western nations in a manner that will not offend her national pride and dignity.

(2) Japan must, however, abandon her attempted military conquest of China, must give up her efforts to dominate China through puppet governments, and must allow China to administer her own affairs in her own way.

##### (c) From the standpoint of the United States -

We believe that, whether it desires it or not, the United States has the power to terminate the Sino-Japanese conflict and to aid in bringing about a just and enduring peace. The task is difficult

and delicate, but the future of Eastern Asia, and perhaps of America, depends upon how successfully we meet the situation.

(1) The United States must first seek to convince Japan of its desire to deal with her on a basis of friendship, understanding, and good will. To that end it should express its willingness to negotiate a new trade treaty, to deal sympathetically with problems of Oriental immigration, and to use its good offices with other nations in securing fair and friendly treatment for Japan.

(2) These actions by the United States must, however, be contingent upon Japan's return to policies in line with the Nine-Power Treaty and the Open Door in China. She must terminate the "China Incident" by withdrawing her troops from China and by abandoning the puppet governments she has created.

(3) Pending the adoption by Japan of these positive measures, the government and people of the United States should withhold further military aid to Japan. We must cease to supply the war materials which make possible her invasion of China. To the extent that a moral embargo will accomplish these ends, it should be used. A second step might well be for the President of the United States, proceeding under Section 338 of the Tariff Act of 1930, to proclaim additional duties on Japanese goods because of Japan's discrimination against American commerce. But where these measures alone are insufficient the government should, by withholding a new trade agreement, and if necessary by an embargo on essential war materials, terminate its participation in Japan's campaign of aggression in China.

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The American friends and supporters of the Christian Colleges in China solemnly pledge their endorsement and support of all constructive measures by the United States government looking toward the solution of these critical problems in Eastern Asia. They believe that the immediate adoption of such measures is essential to the best interests alike of China, of Japan, and of the United States.

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While we were in Washington we also submitted copies to a number of Senators, and had personal conferences with Senator Thomas of Utah and Senator Gillette of Iowa.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "B. G. Gossick", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Executive Secretary

BAG:MS  
Enclosure

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\* \* \*

From:

American Committee for  
Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression  
8 West 40 Street  
New York, New York

Dickson Hartwell  
Circle 6-0057

For release: Friday, March 29, 1940

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Six important advantages to Japan which could follow peace with the Chiang-kai-shek government and withdrawal of troops from China are listed in an open letter sent today to Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, formerly Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, by Roger S. Greene, formerly American Consul-General at Hankow and later representative of the Rockefeller Foundation in China. Mr. Greene, who was for many years intimately associated with commercial interests and political developments in Japan, stated that withdrawal would mean to Japan:

- 1) Stopping the heavy expenditures on unproductive military action;
- 2) Stopping slaughter of tens of thousands of the best young men of Japan;
- 3) Resumption of normal Japanese industry and the development of trade possibilities due to the European war;
- 4) The development of profitable trade with China;
- 5) Eventual political cooperation with China which would act as a safeguard against Russia;
- 6) Restoration of world respect.

The disadvantages of continuing the war as an alternative to an immediate peace were also listed by Mr. Greene:

- 1) The present ruinous military expenditures would continue for a long time;
- 2) The slaughter of young Japanese would continue, leaving many homes desolate and causing serious economic loss;

March 26, 1940

The enclosed contains a thoughtful and authoritative analysis of advantages to Japan of abandoning conquest of China and the consequences which will ensue if her present policies are continued, which may be of particular interest to you for comment at this time.

The American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression  
8 West 40th Street  
New York, N. Y.

- 
- 3) Japan would have no reliable friend if war should break out between Japan and Russia;
  - 4) Important trade relations between the United States and Japan will continue, at best, on a very precarious basis.

Mr. Greene, in addressing Mr. Yoshizawa as an old friend and a true liberal, pointed out that a nation's "true prestige is enhanced by frank recognition of a mistake and honor is promoted by a return to observance of treaty obligations rather than by continued disregard of pledges." There can be no progress toward a mutually satisfactory solution of the defects in the American policy toward Japan, he wrote, so long as Japan continues her attack upon China.

A copy of Mr. Greene's letter is attached. Mr. Greene is Chairman of the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression.



Washington, D. C.

March 28, 1940.

Dear Mr. Yoshizawa:

You and many other Japanese who have American friends must have been perplexed and perhaps distressed by the fact that large numbers of Americans who have lived in Japan and have always been friendly to the Japanese people, have lately been critical of Japanese policy in China and have sympathized with the Chinese government and people in their struggle to defend their independence.

As one of those who has taken this position, I should like to offer an explanation in the hope that it may be recognized that such old friends of Japan have not by any means lost their affectionate regard for the Japanese people, but believe that it will be for the benefit of Japan as well as China, if China succeeds in maintaining her independence and territorial integrity.

As you may remember, my own childhood was spent in Japan and I returned there as a junior member of the American Consular Service in 1904, a few months after the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war. It is well known that American sympathy was almost entirely on the side of Japan at that time, mainly because it seemed that Japan was defending the territory of her neighbor China against Russian encroachment while at the same time safeguarding Japanese interests. Later, my duties took me to the mainland where I acted for a time at Vladivostok as representative of Japanese interests during the period when the new commercial treaty was being negotiated between Japan and Russia. Afterwards at Dairen I had very intimate relations with Japanese officials of the Kwantung Government and the South Manchuria Railway, and watched with keen interest the development of Japanese commerce and industry in that region. There also I had my first important contact, a rather disturbing one, with representatives of the Japanese army. In 1909 circumstances brought me into intimate relations with leaders of the Japanese business world, with whom I travelled extensively in the United States.

During my later years in the Far East, I saw more of Japanese scientists, particularly those interested in medical education. In all these varied relationships I had many friends among the Japanese and some of these friendships have continued to the present day.

Most Japanese know fairly well the reasons which have led American friends of Japan to sympathize with China in the present unhappy conflict, so it is unnecessary to repeat that now familiar argument.

It may be worth while, however, to set forth the considerations which lead some of us to believe that the interests of Japan would be most effectively served if the Japanese government would make peace with the Chinese government now headed by Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek, and withdraw all its troops from China south of the Great Wall. Perhaps such a course will not seem feasible to you but you may agree that this proposal is not wholly inconsistent with friendship for the Japanese people.

Japan needs more than anything else to better her economic position and to gain military and political security. There may be grounds for the opinion that withdrawal from China would be more likely to conduce to those ends than a continuance of the struggle.

Withdrawal from China would accomplish the following purposes:

1. It would stop the present heavy expenditure on unproductive military and naval action.

2. It would stop the slaughter of tens of thousands of the best young men of Japan.

3. It would permit the resumption of peaceful industries in Japan now crippled by wartime restrictions, and would enable Japan to profit by the foreign trade demand caused by the absorption of Europe in the war between France, Britain and Germany.

4. It may be difficult to believe, but it is my firm conviction that as soon as peace is restored with a truly independent China you would see a rapid development of Japanese trade in that country. As you must have observed, international enmities and friendships quickly disappear once the circumstances have changed. The Chinese are a matter-of-fact people, and once Japan began to act in a friendly manner, such hostility as must inevitably remain for a time would soon cease to prevent their purchase of Japanese goods, many of which are well suited to the Chinese market. It would undoubtedly be possible also to bring about a great improvement in Japanese trade with the United States and other countries, once the friction in China was removed. You must know that even the German businessmen resent recent Japanese policy in China which has caused them immense losses.

5. I believe, though this is also a matter of opinion, that if peace could be made soon, you would find China gravitating towards very intimate political relations with Japan, and that there would develop a strong official friendship between the two governments even before the private feelings of the Chinese were entirely reconciled. You can undoubtedly understand this argument, though you may not share my belief. The Chinese Government, in spite of the substantial assistance which it has received from Russia, is not without anxiety as to the real intentions of the Soviet government and the Chinese communist party. So long as the war continues, China is bound to maintain as friendly relations with the Soviet government as possible, and if the struggle becomes even more desperate, as it well may, it is not impossible that the Chinese government may be forced into an even closer relationship with Russia. I do not believe that such a development would be welcome to your government, and it would be distasteful even to those Chinese statesmen who would feel obliged in their extremity to make the best terms that they could with Russia. On the other hand, a peaceful, strong China, friendly to Japan, as the Chinese government would be if the Japanese government should go so far as to abandon its invasion of China, would be a far better safeguard against Russia than a puppet Chinese state that has no strength of its own and can continue in power only so long as it is supported by a Japanese army of occupation. A conquered China would be a grave liability rather than an asset if Japan should ever be involved in war with Russia, for undoubtedly Chinese patriotic volunteers would then be supplied with Russian technical assistance and equipment on a much larger scale than hitherto, and would be a constant threat to the flank or rear of the Japanese forces.

6. Respect for Japan would be restored in a world which has lately become unable to understand the true meaning of any official Japanese statement. The Japanese army, which in 1900, 1904 and 1905 won the admiration of the world for its good discipline, could begin to reestablish itself in the esteem of other nations. It cannot be to the advantage of any nation to be as friendless or as little respected as Japan is now.



Consider now the consequences of adhering to the opposite policy.

1. The present ruinous expenditure must continue for a long time. Even if the government of General Chiang K'ai-shek should be destroyed, it is probable that it would be succeeded by a more violently hostile government than his, such as would be created by the Kwangsi group or the Communists. Guerrilla fighting would in any case long continue and until it was ended peaceful trade and industry would be crippled, so that Japan's financial burden would not be much lighter for a long time.
2. The slaughter of your young men would continue, leaving many homes desolate and causing serious economic loss.
3. Japan would have no reliable friend if war should break out between Japan and Russia.
4. No one can foretell what the American people and their government will do if the military operations in China continue much longer, but until a just peace is established, it is hardly rash to assume that the important trade relations between the two countries will be on a very precarious basis.

To me it seems clear that those who urge a withdrawal from China, are the true friends of the Japanese people, rather than your military leaders who counsel a war to the bitter end. Those leaders are too much concerned with the immediate prestige of themselves and of their country, forgetting that true prestige is enhanced by frank recognition of a mistake, and that honor is promoted by a return to observance of treaty obligations, rather than by continued disregard of pledges. I believe that there is no part of the world where the position of Japan would not be infinitely improved by the abandonment of the adventure in China. It is not impossible that your general staff would consider Japan's military position vis-a-vis Soviet Russia much strengthened if the Japanese armies could be withdrawn from China.

Are Americans to be friends both of murdered patriots like Takahashi, Inouye and Saito, and of those whose supporters are responsible for depriving Japan of the services of such wise statesmen, not to mention others who are compelled to live in hiding for fear of similar treatment? That is obviously impossible. A policy which has involved the loss of such valuable lives cannot commend itself to sincere friends of the Japanese people.

There have been serious defects in the American policy towards Japan. There needs to be a just settlement of the immigration question, and other matters require adjustment. Friends of Japan were hoping, prior to the invasion of China, that a beginning might be made at remedying some of these conditions. While those questions may not seem to you very significant at a time like this, the principles involved are of great importance. But we can make no progress towards a mutually satisfactory solution of these problems so long as Japan continues her attack upon China.

Hoping that all is well with you and your family, and with kindest regards,  
I am

Yours sincerely,

Kenkichi Yoshizawa, Esq.  
22 Kasumi Cho  
Azabu Ku  
Tokyo, Japan

(Signed) Roger S. Greene

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR CHINA  
FAMINE AND FLOOD RELIEF  
82 West Washington St.  
Chicago, Illinois

March, 1940

WHY ARM THE NATION THAT ROBS US?!

Some Newspapers are urging the U.S. to "mind our own business", "Don't anger Japan" - "Japan is a good customer, buys \$200,000,000 per year from the U.S."

Here are some figures on the subject:

U. S. Government figures show sales to Japan for the past five years total \$1,146,000,000, or less than 250 million dollars per year.

Private estimates state that war supplies and material used in war were more than half, or at least \$600,000,000.

As a direct consequence:

American Missions, Hospitals, etc., practically lost, are valued at . . . . .	\$50,000,000
American business investments, practically lost, are valued at . . . . .	\$250,000,000
American Trade with China reduced for past 5 years, and future 5 years, valued at least . . . . .	\$100,000 per year
(\$137,000,000 in 1928; \$38,000,000 in 1935) . .	\$1,000,000,000
American Pacific Coast defense made necessary by Japan's use of war material sold to them by Americans, probably will cost far more than . . . . .	\$1,200,000,000
	\$2,500,000,000

In other words, every \$6 we receive for war supplies has cost us more than \$25, and may cost us far more in the near future, if continued.

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America can perhaps afford to lose money, although it may be very unwise to do so - but Japan's war upon China has caused more human suffering than any war since the World War, and perhaps no war in a thousand years has been more cruel, more unjustified, consequently it is most unfortunate for America to be responsible even in a small degree for the suffering that the \$600,000,000 worth of war supplies have caused.

In addition, can the U.S. afford to build up the military strength of Japan, the officials of which have been saying for 20 years that it must make itself strong enough to make war on the United States of America and that the conquest of China was the first big step in that plan? We have already made Japan strong enough for Japan to dare to kill American citizens.

While the losses are estimated, because actual figures are not available from Government or other sources, we believe the total cost, in dollars, is far in excess of the above figures. However, the figures are enough to show the danger and the folly of selling war supplies to treaty-breaking Japan.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR CHINA  
FAMINE AND FLOOD RELIEF

# China's Industrial Wall

by IDA PRUITT

Back of the battle lines and of the devastated cities and factories, foundations are being laid for a new great wall, to be built of small—and bomb-proof—cooperative industries. The story is told by an American participant in the heroic adventure of reconstructing China in war time.



Reprinted from SURVEY GRAPHIC, March 1940

AMERICAN HEADQUARTERS, CHINESE INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES  
57 William Street, New York, N. Y.



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**Back of the battle lines and of the devastated cities and factories, foundations are being laid for a new great wall, to be built of small—and bomb-proof—cooperative industries. The story is told by an American participant in the heroic adventure of reconstructing China in war time.**

CHINA IS BEGINNING TO BUILD A NEW GREAT WALL—TO stretch from Kansu on the far north to Fukien and Kwangtung in the southeast. It will go out in a wide semicircular sweep behind the occupied territory—a second line of defense for the fighters, a first line of defense in the economic strengthening of the country for which the great factories in the back provinces are positional ramparts. This new wall is being built of small industries. They are giving work to local families and to refugees; they are making the goods that China needs, goods formerly made in the coastal factories; they are developing the raw material of the country so that the standard of living will be higher and so that when peace comes there will be an even better basis for free trade with free nations than before.

The first industrial unit was organized in September 1938. At present there are five main groups of units each with its own headquarters, operating from over sixty depots. In the clusters there are about seventeen hundred such decentralized units. And like living organisms, each cluster reaches out toward the next, to form this living wall. In time there will be 30,000 of these small industries scattered over fifteen provinces.

When the seven-day fire left miles of ruins in Shanghai, 70 percent of the new modern industry of China, which was growing too fast for the peace of mind of Japan, was destroyed or taken over by the invaders. With the loss of Hankow and Canton the toll rose to 90 percent.

In Shanghai a group of farsighted Chinese patriots and European friends of China, seeing this wholesale destruction and what it meant to the country and to the world, worked out a plan. Madam Chiang Kai-shek, that great patriot who works tirelessly for the good of her country, was enthusiastic. Backed by the Generalissimo's headquarters, sponsored by Dr. H. H. Kung, president of the Executive Yuan, the venture went forward.

An appropriation from the Executive Yuan started the revolving fund for loans to the small units. Madam Chiang gave the first amount to have the refugee women workers of the Hankow mills moved to the safe valleys of the northwest, and to feed them until they could be organized. Chinese in the Philippines sent money to revitalize their native provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. Relief organizations have helped generously.

The small industrial units are planted alongside the raw materials and they make what the district needs. Exports will come later when the local market is supplied and when transportation facilities are renewed. The units are small for many reasons. Being small they are mobile. Some, too near the front, have picked up their equipment and walked back into the country or the hills.

If bombs destroy a unit, the loss is not great. They can be housed in ordinary buildings, farmhouses, old temples, temporary mat sheds or loess caves, and so do not draw fire from the air. None have chimneys, not even the machine shops.

The small social industrial unit organized on cooperative lines fits into the Chinese way of doing things. It is in line with the Chinese family which, though a patriarchal hierarchy, elects its own business manager, choosing the one with the most ability, irrespective of age or sex. It also conforms with the traditional Chinese business which never expanded, no matter how prosperous—a new unit was organized instead.

For the sake of the standardization of goods that will be needed in a wider market, and to fill the larger orders later on, and for mutual sustaining, there is a federation of the small units. This again hangs on an old Chinese pattern—on the Chinese guild system. Two stories will show how well this works.

In and about one small town, inhabited almost wholly by refugees, over fifty industrial units were organized. One night three of them burned down. The other cooperatives joined hands to rebuild the burned units.

Madam Chiang Kai-shek gave funds for the refugees to make clothes for the soldiers. An order for five thousand padded garments and ten thousand suits of underwear was ready in fifteen days. She ordered fifteen thousand towels and fifteen thousand pairs of socks. They were ready in five days. The cooperatives of three provinces had been called on.

TRANSPORTATION IS ONE OF THE BIGGEST PROBLEMS. WITH the coast and the great rivers in Japanese hands, the three overland routes are the only way that goods can move into the interior. The upkeep of roads in war time is not easy and they get in bad shape from the additional traffic. Trucks are at a premium. The price of gasoline has soared; inside China it is almost unobtainable. Motor cars and buses run on alcohol or burn charcoal. Suitable alcohol and the charcoal burning engines must be produced. Chemists and engineers are trying out many kinds of vegetable oils to make fuel oil.

Soap is also manufactured from these oils. Many units make soap. But with the difficulties of transport, engineers in the southeast are trying to process hard soap with wood ash potash, while in the northwest, there is caustic soda which mule caravans bring down from the hills.

The textile units are the most popular and diversified in output. Cotton is the Chinese national fabric for everyday wear. But in some of the provinces where no cotton grows the local linen fiber, ramie, is made into cloth.



The fiber of this plant, chopped and treated with chemicals, insures "absorbent cotton" for the hospitals.

Printing cooperatives are booming. There is a universal demand for reading matter and news. In any town the news from outside, whether it comes through missionaries or banks or officials, is pooled for the community. The printing shop pastes a copy of the newspaper on the wall outside its building so those who pass may read. The small machine shops keep busy supplying small printing presses.

One of the most picturesque printing cooperatives is run by disabled soldiers who live in a camp in the southeast area. When the organizer came he was practically mobbed; every man, no matter what his condition, wanted to take part in the new work. Now there are forty-seven cooperatives in this one camp. Besides the printing shop they weave and spin, make cigarettes, toothpaste and toothbrushes.

Whenever men who will never be able to fight again are set to work, the local people are organized with them. Thus the homeless again become integral parts of a community. They marry the local women and settle down.

One of the earliest cooperatives in the northwest was built around a master printer and his seven workmen. He had helped his men to escape across three provinces after their homes in the east were bombed. His money exhausted, the printer saw the Chinese Industrial Cooperative's notice for workmen to register. Now his printing establishment cares for several counties.

Refugees from all along the line of invasion have fallen back into the hinterland. All except the most energetic and imaginative tend to congregate in the cities just back of the fighting. It is the policy of the Chinese cooperatives to move them back into the country or the hill districts. Skilled workmen can be put to work as soon as there are machines. But the mass of the refugees have never made anything in their lives. They must be taught; and they must be fed while learning.

Like the disabled soldiers, the refugees are organized with the local people. This has worked out especially well with the gold washing cooperatives in the northwest where fifty men, refugees and natives of the district, make up a single unit. With a capital of \$500 they can make \$1200 a month. They must pay the engineers and prospectors who found the site. They must pay back their principal and they must do their share in the cooperative guild federation. Madam H. H. Kung has lent funds to help in the gold producing development.

The great Yellow River which has changed its course again, due to the breaking of its dykes, and flows through its third bed within recent historical times, has created approximately ten million more refugees. Through the American and English charitable organizations, the American advisory committees of the Chinese International Famine Relief and the Lord Mayor's Fund, money has been given to move some of them to the thinly populated northwest province and dig homes for them from the loess. These caves are cool in the summer and warm in winter. One houses a family of five and costs approximately \$5 in U. S. money.



Making everything that China's fighting men (top) need, are seventeen hundred small industrial cooperatives. Above, a group of leaders hold the banner which says, "Work Together"

Most of them will engage in wool cooperatives. The Ministry of War has ordered four hundred thousand blankets in Szechwan, Kansu and Shensi. The plan is to develop a great wool manufacturing center in the western part of Szechwan province.

The women from Hankow, weaving and spinning in the valleys of Shensi province, make more than they did in the mills. All are happy except the husbands who miss the tea shops of Hankow and do not see why the hard-hearted organizer wants them to work too. Have not their wives always supported them?

Refugees in the northwest, cast up by the first wave of aggression in Manchuria, supply the countryside with coal mined in a valley given to them by philanthropists.





Making clothes for civilians and for soldiers



Spinning wool for blankets with new type spindles



Ramie, linen fiber, is made into "absorbent cotton"



A soap cooperative manned by disabled soldiers

A whole church group migrating from one side of China to the other support themselves with cooperative flour milling. Match factories from Swatow have migrated to the north of Kwangtung province. The list could go on indefinitely. In all, perhaps a third of the cooperative workers are refugees. The rest are local people left unemployed by war conditions.

The list of cooperative goods is a long one—over sixty different items that the people need—cotton, linen, silk and woolen cloth, soap, candles, alcohol for medicinal purposes and for cars, paper, leather and leather goods, pottery, clothing and uniforms, socks and stockings, towels, shoes and sandals, medical cotton and gauze, glass, dry cells for flashlight batteries, boats, matches, acids, and so on. The machine shops turn out the necessary small machines, such as printing presses, charcoal burning engines, spinning and weaving machines. They work with steel or, where the facilities are poor, with malleable iron. There are transport cooperatives, mule carts, camel and donkey caravans in the north, boats and trucks in the south.

There is no question of markets. It is difficult to keep enough stock on the shelves for the daily sales. In the towns the industrial units, as in most native Chinese industry, make and sell in the same building. But since most cooperatives are in the country, shops handle the

sale of their goods in the market centers, and some places even boast cooperative inns for the workers who bring in goods and remain to buy raw material.

Other activities grow naturally out of this work. Day nurseries and schools care for the children of the cooperators. Some of the workmen who cannot read attend evening classes for adults. The social life of the small communities revolves around the weekly meeting of the cooperative units. And this is especially true of the general meeting of neighboring units. The leaders find out what is happening in other parts of the country. They tell of a new process they have been working on and ask what has been turned up elsewhere. They are proud of the technical magazine published at each regional headquarters.

When bombs destroyed a mission hospital, the refugee doctor came to the northwest district and founded a cooperative hospital. A hospital is badly needed in every section.

Seventeen hundred such small units is the accomplishment of little more than a year. Many of them have paid back the full loan; all of them pay interest regularly, none of them have failed. And a staff is now ready to man the thousands of units needed.

Such is the temper of modern China. Men have sacrificed responsible, safe positions with high salaries to go



into the interior and work on war time pay with all the hazards of a war time way of living. They are a sturdy lot, with the fortitude of pioneers, the vision of a new China to come.

K. P. Liu, student at the University of Cincinnati, worked in the Detroit Ford factories, and was a banker in Manchuria before the Japanese occupation. About ten years ago he concluded that the *hsien* (county) was the most important political unit in China and won the chance to build up a model *hsien*, where he ruled with justice and enlightenment. In the central headquarters at Chungking he copes with war torn communications, to keep open channels of information and to centralize the vital parts of the organization.

Frank Lem, another American trained engineer, who also worked in the Ford factories, gave up his high salaried job in the Shanghai power plant to head the engineering section. Starting in the southwest, he rescued machinery under fire of the enemy. He mobilized refugees and set whole towns to work. Now he is working on the program for the Yellow River refugees.

Lu Kwang-mien, the chief organizer, was educated in Yenching University in Peiping, in Glasgow, and in Denmark. He had fifteen years experience with the rural credit cooperatives in Hopei province. To him and to C. F. Woo, the second engineer in chief, fell the lot of starting the work in the northwest.

Educated and trained young men go into districts where no college man has been before, live as the country people live, get to know the countryside. They study the raw material of the area, see what goods for everyday use the district needs and make friends with the local people.

With them, travelling from headquarters to headquarters, from depot to depot, from individual cooperative to cooperative, is Rewi Alley, the Cooperatives' technical expert and adviser. A New Zealander of Scotch-English stock, whose father, a superintendent of schools, was a "cooperative crank," Rewi Alley was for eleven years inspector of factories for the Shanghai Municipal Council. He spent his summer vacations in the interior and worked in Hankow with the famine relief after the floods and in Saratsi in the great drought. He speaks at least three Chinese dialects and reads and writes Chinese. Without fear he goes across bandit mountains in the southeast, through fever-ridden valleys to the tribesmen in the west, and into the bitter cold of the northern winters.

While the chief engineers were trained overseas and worked in America and China, the foremen and junior engineers are skilled workers from the big factories of the coast. A technical training school is very much needed now.

The chief organizers come from the many national organizations that have sprung up during the last fifteen



A partly blinded soldier is now a printer

years—the rural credit associations, the mass educational movement of Ting Hsien, the International Famine Relief Association, and similar projects. There are not enough of them for every depot and unit. To date, five schools to train junior organizers have been established.

These schools are run on very simple lines. A group of highschool students, boys and girls, a few teachers, an engineer, an organizer, someone who knows the social structure of the country, a man who can teach accounting, a temple or an old shop—and the school is set. The students live as workers must live; they go to market, cook and serve their own meals. One course in the curriculum is bicycle riding, so necessary later in supervising the scattered units. Each school prints its own newspaper.

The students graduate after a three months course, some to go into individual units as workers or sec-

retaries, others to join the central organization.

Each set of these leaders, the engineers and the organizers, have their own problems. The engineers must find the raw material, adapt what exists to what is needed. Even more of a challenge is the job of supplying machinery for the production of the goods. There was some modern machinery inside China before the war started. An amazing amount was salvaged from the wrecked cities, or rather carried out as the enemy advanced; with incredible patience it was shipped up the rivers by boat and across the country by cart or carried on men's backs. There is enough to set up some machine shops which make the smaller machines used in the units.

There are at least three new spinning machines for wool, cotton and linen. One was invented by a young Chinese textile engineer who had been trained in Eng-



Cave dug from the loess becomes home and factory





Students in a training school for junior organizers

land and America; another by an American missionary, a preacher, who knew nothing of industry but saw the people struggling with the old clumsy method; a third by an American teacher in one of the universities.

By the substitution of an iron cog for a wooden one in an old handicraft machine, the workman can produce in an hour what once took a day. The great water wheels of the sluggish southern rivers have undergone a similar speeding up. The turbulent short rivers of the hilly north are harnessed to make electricity. But the chief source of power is the charcoal burning engine. In one machine shop the cost of this fuel for a day is \$2 N.C. (national currency).

University chemists are experimenting with the native dyes since the war cut off chemical imports. Native tanning methods and substitute materials are developed in the provincial laboratories, and written up in the technical magazines of each regional headquarters.

The organizers have another set of problems to face, other difficulties to overcome. The people know nothing of parliamentary law. But since a real democracy is natural to them, when the forms are learned they conduct their business meetings easily.

On a visit to the southeast headquarters in May, I watched these men at work. In an old mission building—the chapel of which was the common room—life started at about six in the morning. At seven all were at breakfast. Sometimes only two of the tables were full, sometimes every seat was occupied. Men came in from the field to report and get further instructions or supplies. By 7:30 or 8 all were at work. As a young engineer said: "We work 36 hours a day and wish there were more. I never felt so alive and useful before in my life." The work draws the Europeans as well as the Chinese.

Hsifan tribesmen from the Szechwan-Tibetan border came to the war time capital in Chungking striking a gay note in that somber scene with their wine red silk robes. They had gold and they wanted to help China win the war. Rewi Alley went back with them to their mountain valleys. Now one of the most enthusiastic workers in

the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives is the Lin Pu Living Buddha. He actually acts as interpreter between the Chinese and the local Tibetans, receiving a small war time grant for expenses, and urges the young men of the community to join the industrial cooperatives rather than enter the lamaseries.

MADAM CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S WAR ORPHANS MAY BE AMONG the industrial leaders of New China. Near Chentu there is an industrial training school for senior war orphans, thirteen years and older, one of her dearest projects. Now some of its pupils are ready to go out into the world. These children have been trained in native handicrafts and will train other children in the more backward districts of western China. Last summer Madam Chiang consulted Rewi Alley about using the children in new industries in eastern Tibet. As a result of his recent investigation tour, a depot of the Industrial Cooperatives was started in that region and ambitious plans set afoot to send groups of the partially trained orphans there.

The cooperative organization works very well. A constitution has been worked out with the help of W. H. K. Campbell, expert to the Chinese government on cooperatives from the League of Nations. It provides that every worker must have at least three shares, and no more than twenty. Each shareowner has one vote. The earnings pay the wages which are determined according to the local rates, then interest on the loans, part of the principal of the loans, interest on the shares. There are special arrangements for dividends, sinking funds and cooperative federation funds.

Hidden as these small industries are from Japanese bombers, those that are still in the towns and cities take their chances with the rest of the population. Two or three have had their walls shattered by the concussion of bombs dropping in the streets. They have learned their lesson, taken their machines and gone into the country.

The headquarters offices, however, are not so easily hidden. And obviously the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives are not liked by the invaders. They pay them the high compliment of trying to bomb the headquarters, whenever they raid cities where they are located.

But in a country defending itself against ruthless aggression, the funds available can never do all that should be done. More capital is needed to lend to the industrial units. More relief money is needed to care for the refugees until they can care for themselves. And more workers and machines are needed. Money spent in this way serves both as defense and reconstruction. Thus even in war, China is laying the foundation for the peace that will come.

### Reconstruction in China

The small industries require a minimum to get started.

\$5 to \$10 (American money) will provide the capital to start a man in the average industry. He can then support himself and a family of five.

\$50 will start a surgical gauze cooperative.

\$100 will start a soap and candle cooperative.

\$500 will start a heavy industry unit.

\$1000 will train a student.

\$5000 will provide a fifty-bed hospital; \$100 will run a bed in one of these hospitals for a year.



# CHINESE INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES

## ADMINISTRATION, IN CHUNGKING

HIS EXCELLENCY DR. H. H. KUNG, *Chairman*

K. P. LIU, *Secretary-General*

HUBERT LIANG, *Associate Secretary-General*

REWI ALLEY, *Technical Expert and Adviser*

## Regional Headquarters' Directors:

K. M. LU, Northwest

KARL LEE, Central

C. K. TAN, Southwest

LANG WONG, Southeast

P. P. MAO, Yunnan

## INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR C. I. C. PRODUCTIVE RELIEF FUND, IN HONGKONG

Rewi Alley

T. Kai Liang

G. Findlay Andrew

Homer Ling

Alec B. Camplin

Hon. Mr. M. K. Lo

Chen Han-seng

Ida Pruitt

S. J. Chen

Edgar Snow

P. N. Chung

T. V. Soong

Rev. Walter B. Foley

Alfonso Z. Sycip

Rt. Rev. R. O. Hall

J. M. Tan

Frank Lem

Yu Khe-thai

Several influential Americans are undertaking  
the organization of an American Committee

## HEADQUARTERS OF THE GENERALISSIMO

Wherever the Japanese military have penetrated into our country they have systematically destroyed every means of livelihood so as to impoverish and leave destitute our surviving civilian population. Furthermore, the enemy have endeavored to destroy the morale of our people and break down our national resistance by flooding the occupied areas with heroin, opium, morphine, and other narcotics.

The Japanese do this because they realize that unless they are able to reduce our people to a state of physical, mental, and moral degeneracy and slavery they will be unable to conquer China regardless of how much territory they may claim to have "occupied."

Our friends and our people, therefore, should realize that whether during war time or during the period of reconstruction, or in the high tide of peaceful prosperity, it is essential, in order effectively and fundamentally to help our distressed people, that we should encourage and assist them to maintain their self-respect by earning their own living rather than be content to subsist upon charity.

This can be done by supplying them with productive and constructive work so that they may feel that by applying their strength and their energy to the production of necessities of life they are earning their own livelihood and are, at the same time, contributing their part to national resistance and reconstruction.

The Industrial Cooperatives, because of the principles upon which they are founded, can contribute admirably toward this goal. All help that can be given for founding of cooperatives will materially assist in up-building the character of the people as well as reestablishing the country that has been so wantonly ruined by the aggressors.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "May Ling Soong Chiang". The script is fluid and cursive, with the first letters of each name being capitalized and prominent.

MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK

11 April, 1939.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR CHINA  
FAMINE AND FLOOD RELIEF  
82 West Washington St.  
Chicago, Illinois

March, 1940

WHY ARM THE NATION THAT ROBS US?!

Some Newspapers are urging the U.S. to "mind our own business", "Don't anger Japan" - "Japan is a good customer, buys \$200,000,000 per year from the U.S."

Here are some figures on the subject:  
U. S. Government figures show sales to Japan for the past five years total \$1,146,000,000, or less than 250 million dollars per year.

Private estimates state that war supplies and material used in war were more than half, or at least \$600,000,000.

As a direct consequence:

American Missions, Hospitals, etc., practically lost, are valued at . . . . .	\$50,000,000
American business investments, practically lost, are valued at . . . . .	\$250,000,000
American Trade with China reduced for past 5 years, and future 5 years, valued at least . . . . .	\$100,000 per year
(\$137,000,000 in 1928; \$38,000,000 in 1935) . . . . .	\$1,000,000,000
American Pacific Coast defense made necessary by Japan's use of war material sold to them by Americans, probably will cost far more than . . . . .	\$1,200,000,000
	\$2,500,000,000

In other words, every \$6 we receive for war supplies has cost us more than \$25, and may cost us far more in the near future, if continued.

Government estimates of actual military equipment, such as military airplanes, trucks, tanks, and ammunition, sold by U.S. people to Japan in past two years, was less than \$12,000,000. If we figured on that basis, it means that for every \$12 received we lost \$2,500. Some people regard us as a nation of shrewd Yankee traders. These facts certainly do not look like it!

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In addition, can the U.S. afford to build up the military strength of Japan, the officials of which have been saying for 20 years that it must make itself strong enough to make war on the United States of America and that the conquest of China was the first big step in that plan? We have already made Japan strong enough for Japan to dare to kill American citizens.

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR CHINA  
FAMINE AND FLOOD RELIEF

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# JAPAN'S EXPANSION

What It Means  
to the  
United States

BY HENRY H. DOUGLAS

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REPRINTED FROM "CHINA TODAY", MARCH, 1940



# JAPAN'S EXPANSION

## What It Means to the United States

By HENRY H. DOUGLAS



### INTRODUCTION

JAPAN'S invasion of Manchuria in 1931 was a direct violation of a vitally important international agreement which was formulated to promote the welfare of a large proportion of the peoples of the world. This act initiated a new era in international lawlessness. With dramatic rapidity this contagion engulfed the world.

There can be no security, no peace, nor the progressive development of mutually advantageous relations between the United States and other nations so long as certain countries resort to violence as a means of furthering their national interests. Violence is a dread disease.

Essentially, the war in Europe has for its purpose the maintenance, or the extension of empire, with domination of the markets of the world. From neither side, in the European struggle, can the United States expect a solution which will bring a fruitful peace.

The war in Asia, Japan's attempt to subjugate China, embodies serious direct implications for our own security and economic welfare. Whatever Japan succeeds in doing will be done not only at the expense of the Chinese and the other peoples of East Asia, but also at the expense of the American people, with the very real danger of ultimate war. The American people have it within their power to bring to an end the conflict in Asia, but no passive attitude of isolation will bring this about nor prevent grave damage to our own interests. Here is our opportunity to take steps for the consummation of a constructive peace.

Whatever the United States does, or does not do, will have an all-important bearing not only on our own security and welfare, but will greatly influence the future course of world developments. Little or no danger of war is involved in what we may now do in the Orient. A policy of drift and procrastination will greatly increase the likelihood of a future vast and costly conflict.

Some of the implications, to the United States, of what is happening in the Far East, are here set forth.

## Part I. TOWARDS ECONOMIC AUTARCHY

### JAPAN'S INVASION OF CHINA

IN 1927 Baron Tanaka presented a Memorial to the Emperor of Japan which included the statement:

*" . . . in order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights."*

This document has been questioned, but it readily gains authenticity when compared with other statements of responsible Japanese from time to time, beginning with the Memorial of Lord Hotta in 1858, at the time Townsend Harris was negotiating our first commercial treaty with Japan, as well as with Japan's long record of aggressive action against China.

Despite Japan's protestations of humanitarian concern for the other peoples of East Asia, her unchanging policy has been to dominate these other peoples by any means possible. No better examples of this can be found than her annexation of Korea in the face of official denials that she had any such intention, and the presentation of the Twenty-One Demands to China, which, if accepted, would have made a virtual Japanese protectorate of that country. Now, in the face of increasing Chinese strength and unity Japan has struck at China "to beat her to her knees until she no longer has the will to resist."

In any consideration of the Far Eastern situation, as influenced by Japan's invasion of China, there are innumerable questions which must be taken into account. Not the least of these, by any criterion, are our own treaty obligations and our traditional friendship with that country. Much has been said, and much can and will be said, regarding the moral and ethical aspects of the whole business, but for present purposes we shall look at the other side of the picture.

To begin with it should be clearly understood that, in all of Japan's plans for the domination of East Asia and the Pacific, she is building up a closed economy in which other nations will have such part as Japan wishes them to have. She is seeking the creation of a regional autarchic system under her sole control. Other nations will be able to trade here only so long as it is advantageous to Japan for them to do so. Manchukuo is an excellent example of what will happen. Today there is not a foreign corporation operating in Manchukuo. What trade is carried on there is done through Japanese suffering and through Japanese government-dominated concerns. Even now there are still some short-sighted persons who consider Manchukuo a good market for American goods. It is, at the moment, a good market for materials of use to Japan in her war against China, and for machines and equipment which go toward building up Japan's mechanical self-sufficiency for further military conquest. As soon as this self-sufficiency is attained, Manchukuo, as well as any other Japanese dominated territory, as a market for

American goods, will cease to exist.

Mr. C. H. French, an authority on Far Eastern trade, has stated:

*"As regards Japanese commercial tactics in the regions under their control, it is to be noted that Japan has resorted to every device within her power (short of overt and acknowledged hostility) to exclude other nations from direct participation in trade with the Chinese. To this end she has erected trade barriers in the form of great subsidized monopolies invested with quasi-sovereign power over the foreign and domestic commerce of the afore-said regions. The will of these monopolistic organizations over all matters relating to trade is absolute—they being authorized to call for naval and military assistance to enforce their arbitrary decisions."*

In this connection, the New York Times of December 30, 1939, reports the launching of a number of gigantic monopolistic concerns, in the face of continued denials by Tokyo that Japan intends creating monopolies for the purpose of ousting foreign enterprises from occupied territories in China. Among the concerns recently launched are the North China Development Co., with a capital of 300,000,000 yen, the North China Electrical Industry Co., capitalized at \$100,000,000 Chinese. This company will control all generating and distributing plants in North China under a monopolistic charter. Other monopolies launched recently include the North China Transport Co., Chunghua Aviation Co., North China Railway Co., North China Telephone & Telegraph Co., North China Motion Picture Co., North China Cotton Association, North China Cement Co., and the North China Development Co.

While preparations are being made to get the most complete control over everything that matters in China's economic structure, much work is being done to deal with the key enterprises, such as communications, mines, heavy industries, etc., to systematize the process of penetration, to provide central organs for planning future developments, and to fit the entire economy of "new China" into that of the Greater Japanese Empire, which Tokyo has chosen to call the Japan-Manchukuo-China Economic Bloc.

All of these enterprises, with their numerous subsidiaries and vast subsidies, will completely control the conquered areas, bringing into their coffers much of the present and future wealth of China. They will exercise a control far beyond their specific field of enterprise. The attempt to set up a puppet government under Wang Ching-wei is, of course, an attempt to consolidate this economic and military control politically.

We are at present assisting Japan in building up this vast, modern industrial machine, fed by resources obtained by seizure, not paid for as we must pay, and operated by slave labor, further enslaved by the enforced use of opium and heroin. As soon as this new industrial system gets into full swing, Japan will be able to dominate the markets of the world. The result will be a continued and chronic state of depression everywhere, with a corresponding lowering of the standard of living all over the world.

In the struggle of liberty against tyranny each battle that is lost by the forces of freedom brings the loss of our own freedom that much nearer to our door. If China loses in her struggle

with Japan the democratic impulse in that half of the world will cease to exist.

Regardless of abuse of power by other nations in the past, the fact remains that there has always been in evidence, to a considerable degree, a recognition of the sovereignty of peoples and their right to govern themselves. Japan has developed her strength upon the teachings and the experience of the West, but she has none of the West's concern for moral principles and obligations. The attitude of the Japanese is that when other peoples are no longer of use to them they must be eliminated. Our Monroe Doctrine provides for the protection of the American nations against foreign invasion; Japan's "Monroe Doctrine" provides her the freedom to invade and conquer wherever she is able.

While it is true that our trade with Japan has greatly exceeded our trade with China during the last few years, much of this trade has been of a nature to progressively make Japan more and more independent of us. She has been building up her mechanical self-sufficiency with our assistance. Soon, through her conquests, she will have all the raw materials she needs and all the cheap labor she must have to operate this vast industrial machine. Our trade then, with Japan and her conquered territories, will sharply decline.

It has been reliably estimated that our normal trade with Japan will gradually decrease until we reach a more or less stabilized level of \$150,000,000 annually. In 1939 our raw cotton sales to Japan declined to but slightly more than one-third of the amount sold them in 1932, and to less than half the amount exported to Japan only five

years ago. This is indicative of what is in store for the greater part of all our normal trade.

It is reasonable to expect that a China, free to work out its own destiny, would undoubtedly offer opportunities which, within a decade or two, because of her tremendous need for goods and materials for the development of the country, would surpass those of Japan, and many other countries, giving us an export trade with China many times that of 1936, the year before the war began. At the beginning of 1937 America was just at the threshold of realizing the potentialities of China's vast modernization program.

Figuring conservatively, the United States could reasonably expect, within a decade, a steady export trade, with a free China, of \$750,000,000 annually, to say nothing of the enormous quantities of capital goods which would be required in the meantime while her intensive construction program was in process. Our greatest all-time customer in the past has been the United Kingdom, where we now have an established market in excess of \$500,000,000 a year. We are willing to let foreign ships carry this trade for the time being, though there is little doubt but that we would fight for the trade itself.

Already, in China, Japan has rendered valueless a large part of the investments of United States citizens, which include about \$50,000,000 worth of missionary schools, churches, colleges, hospitals, and commercial investments, alone estimated at about \$250,000,000.

Japan's action in China has already, for the past five years, caused an annual trade loss to the United States of approximately \$100,000,000 per year. Counting the next five years this



means a ten-year trade loss of \$1,000,000,000.

With the United States acting as Japan's arsenal, we have helped Japan build up a war machine, which not only may be a future threat to our security, but against which we have already found it necessary to arm ourselves to the extent of over \$2,500,000,000 for the past eight years, over and above the total of an approximate \$300,000,000 annual norm we had reached in 1934-1935. The sum of these items makes a staggering total:

Property loss	\$ 300,000,000
Ten-Year trade loss	1,000,000,000
Pacific Coast defense	2,600,773,000
	<hr/>
	\$3,900,773,000

And, at best, this can be but an attempt to estimate our loss. This is merely part of what Japan's war has already cost us. This is what we have received in return for our extra-ordinary trade in war materials with Japan—the total of which for 1937-1939 will be approximately \$510,000,000. It is amazing how effective Japan has been in turning against us the very weapons which we so graciously and thoughtlessly supply to her.

The distressing thing about the whole business is that officially the United States seems unable to see the threat to her present and future interests. We go on supplying Japan with all the materials of war she needs. Our action could now be even more effective than before the outbreak of the war in Europe. Supplies are no longer obtainable there in any quantity, making Japan increasingly dependent upon the U. S.

Not only are our material interests being destroyed, but the whole system of international law and respect for

obligations, which we labored for so long to help build up, is rapidly being torn to shreds. Ambassador Grew, in his October speech in Tokyo, entirely neglected to mention the Nine-Power Pact which embodies our concern for the sovereignty and integrity of China, as well as the principle of the "Open Door," upon which our Far Eastern policy has been and should continue to be based, and which is the basis of our salvation in the Far East, as well as for the salvation of China.

We, in this country, are so far away from China that we are easily lulled by the fact of the distance and are inclined to feel that what happens there will have no vital effect upon us. Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo indulged in no exaggeration when he said last summer in London:

*"If Japan should ever be able to lay her hand on the whole of China and thus obtain control of her immense manpower, her great possibilities as market and her vast storehouse of mineral and agricultural wealth, it is certain that she would convert these almost limitless and invaluable assets of power and strength into formidable means and instruments of domination and conquest. In that event it would be impossible to contemplate the prospect of permanent peace in Asia or in the world."*

#### JAPAN'S PACIFIC MANDATE

THE administration of the Mandated islands was placed in the hands of the Japanese by the League of Nations at the close of the World War. Included in the mandate are the groups of islands known as the Marianas, the Marshalls, and the Carolines. These islands, lying directly across the sea

routes from the United States mainland and Hawaii to the Philippine Islands and China, and adjoining the British colonies and mandated territories in the South Seas, constitute the most important area, from a strategic standpoint, in the entire South Seas.

With the control of these islands Japan has at her disposal the Kurile Islands, in the direction of the Aleutians and Alaska; the Mariana, Caroline and Palau Islands in the direction of New Guinea; the Marshalls in the direction of Hawaii, as well as the Loochoos, Formosa, Hainan, and a whole group of tiny islands covering an area of over 45,000 square miles in the South China Sea.

The mandate includes about 2550 small islands with a total land area of 960 square miles. They extend 1200 miles from north to south, and 2500 miles from east to west, spreading over an area larger than the Mediterranean and Caribbean put together.

The terms of the mandate provide that "No military or naval bases or fortifications are to be established in the mandated territory." Also, in Article 19 of the Washington Naval Pact of 1922, the United States, Great Britain, and Japan agreed not to build new fortifications or naval bases in certain areas: American Samoa, the Philippine Islands, Guam, Wake, and the Aleutians; Britain's Pacific islands and Hong Kong; Japan's Kurile islands, the Bonins, Amami-Oshima, the Loochoos, Formosa and the Pescadores.

Japan now has naval bases in the Bonins, the Loochoos, and in Formosa. It is certain these have not been built just since the expiration of the Naval Pact at the end of 1936. The Pact required two years' notice, and was denounced by Japan December 29, 1934.

Japan has denied fortifying any of these islands but has admitted that considerable money has been spent on the development of harbor works on two of the mandated islands, Saipan and Palau. Saipan is the most important of the islands in respect to productive industry. Work on the harbor of Tanapak (on Saipan) was started in 1926 and completed in 1932. It was on Saipan that the Japanese Government recently refused to allow her own shipwrecked seamen to be landed, when rescued by an American vessel. In 1936 "the construction of the port of Palau, extending over six years and costing altogether 2,675,500 yen" was begun, the piers and channels of the port being built to accommodate warships. A large modern airport has also been constructed. These two islands are located directly east of the Philippines and on opposite sides of Guam. About the time that Congress voted down the strengthening of the Guam defenses Japan announced the establishment of a "commercial" air service to Saipan.

According to a report in the China Weekly Review, of March 30, 1935, Japan has also built a strong submarine base near the Marshall Islands and the construction of a huge fuel storage reservoir and an airdrome has also been completed.

As required by the terms of the mandate the League of Nations and the United States are to receive an annual report on the administration of the islands. For the last two years Japan has failed to make this report and there has been no indication that it will be forthcoming. This action is taken to mean that Tokyo has assumed outright control over the islands. The 1936 budget, presented with the report

for that year, disclosed various sums for harbor improvements, road construction and land surveys, as well as for the development of aerial navigation.

Though we have an agreement with Japan concerning Yap, Japan still controls the island. Here the cable from Shanghai and Japan joins the main line which runs from the Philippines to Hawaii and San Francisco. At any time Japan could cut off telegraphic communication between America and the Far East.

The mandated islands provide the Japanese navy with a stationary fleet of "natural aircraft carriers." The lagoons and protected waterways of many of the islands are perfect hiding places for warships, submarines and seaplanes. Japan's position is immeasurably strengthened by this barrier which forms an unbroken chain, 1800 miles long, to the equator, forming a screen between the United States and the Philippines. Japan already refers to these islands as her "life line to the South."

The islands form not only a screen between the United States and the Philippines, but also constitute a rampart behind which lies the entire Asiatic continent, and behind which Japan hopes to be able to pursue her expansionist policy without interference from the United States. Because of its existence America sends ships across the Pacific to Asia only at the sufferance of Japan. Likewise, the route of ships passing north from Singapore along the China coast is paralleled by Japanese fortifications and naval bases.

Possession of the Marshall Islands brought Japan 2000 miles nearer to Pearl Harbor and within 4000 miles of San Francisco.

"Japan," says an English strategical writer, Captain D. H. Cole, *"has moved not merely 2000 miles eastwards towards the United States, but 2000 miles southward toward Australia."*

Captain Taketomi, in the Tokyo Nichi Nichi, January, 1935, wrote:

*"The line connecting the Bonins, Mariana Islands, and Palau is the country's southern defense line. When this line is protected Japan will be able to perfectly control the Pacific... Furthermore, this line cuts in two the line of the United State's footholds in the Pacific running from San Francisco to Hawaii, Guam, the Philippines, and China."*

## JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES

THE Japanese have penetrated the economic life of the Philippine Islands to such an extent, that the province of Davao on the island of Mindanao, so thoroughly controlled by them, has been dubbed "Davaokuo." Japanese are not allowed to own land in their own names, but they get around this by obtaining control of it in the names of others. Many Japanese marry Filipino women for this purpose alone.

The economic life of the islands has now reached the point where the Japanese practically control the fishing industry and shipping. Nearly 100% of the Philippine fishing fleet is owned in Japan. The Japanese control 67% of the hemp supply and 35% of the retail trade; the latter by virtue of the Japanese chain stores which have sprung up all over the islands. They also have a foothold in the production of iron, gold, copper, chromium, manganese, sugar, tobacco, copra and lumber.

The economic life of the islands is

now so dominated by the Japanese, and becoming more so every day, and they are so completely surrounded by Japanese territory that there can be little question of their fate if the United States decides to turn the islands loose. The islands have already become a part of the Japanese economic empire.

Why did the Japanese pick the island of Mindanao, and particularly the province of Davao, for highly concentrated economic penetration? The answer is found at once in its particular location. Mindanao has the greatest potential and least developed natural resources in the Philippines. It is the second largest island, having an area of 40,000 square miles. In the north-eastern portion of the island there is an iron reserve of an estimated 1,000,000,000 tons. Mindanao is on the opposite end of the archipelago from Japan itself, and is a highly important link in the strategical network Japan is busily engaged in forging over that whole area.

Let us look at the map, taking a counter-clockwise course from Japan, leaving out of consideration Korea and the China coast. Taken in order, we come to Formosa, on which is located a strong naval base and probably fortifications; Hainan island, recently seized from China, and which brings Japan 1000 miles nearer to Singapore; Spratly Island and the whole area of small islands and reefs off the northwest coast of Borneo; Mindanao, designed to be one of the southern bulwarks of Japanese power and expansion, and the spearhead of Japan's drive for domination of all the Indies; and then with a long, deep thrust eastward into the Pacific and back in the direction of Japan we see

how that side of the "empire" is covered by the Caroline islands, the Marshalls, the Marianas, the Bonins and the surrounding islands. With the sea power Japan is building up, and with the present apathetic attitude of the other powers, Japan's southward march, preceded by intense economic penetration, will be a cinch.

The province of Davao is but 600 miles from the East coast of Borneo and the heart of the Celebes, 1200 miles from the heart of Dutch New Guinea, 1600 miles from Singapore and Sumatra, and less than 2000 miles from Australia. Its strategical location can readily be appreciated.

#### JAPAN, THE INDIES AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC

**B**ARON Tanaka's statement regarding the "South Sea countries" was no idle dream. Japan has the Pacific islands under a mandate she has no notion of ever relinquishing, she has already annexed Hainan Island, the Spratly Islands, an entire group of reefs and islets in the South China Sea, and is carrying on an intense program of economic penetration throughout the East Indies and Southeast Asia.

In 1935 the Department of Overseas Affairs approved a Ten-Year Plan for the development of Formosa, whose outstanding point was "the policy of aiding the development of Japanese interests in South China and in the South Seas."

The South Seas Development Company was established on November 27, 1936, with a capital of 20,000,000 yen. Its activities are carried on in Japan's mandated islands, the Netherland Indies, French Indo-China and Siam, for the purpose of exploiting marine



and mineral resources, engaging in agriculture, shipping, emigration and the acquisition of land, supplying cash, materials and other needs in Japan's southward expansion.

A recent statement of the Institute of the Pacific is enlightening:

*"We possess the strongest Navy and Air Force in the Far East and dominate the South Sea markets. The South Seas belong to the Far East and Japan is entitled to share the wealth of these regions, which Europe snatched while Japan was self-isolated. It is necessary to rectify Japan's economic position, and now is the psychological moment, while European powers with interests in the South Seas are preoccupied. . . . It is sometimes proposed that Dutch oil be forcibly seized, but other methods can be tried at first. . . . We do not expect Britain, France and Holland readily to accept our demands, but the longer the war lasts the more certain it becomes that our ideas will materialize."*

The islands of the East Indies cover a vast area. From west to east they extend more than 3000 miles, or as far as from San Francisco to the tip of Maine; and from north to south more than 1000 miles. They cover an area of 733,681 square miles, equal to about one-half of Europe excluding Russia. In 1930 they had a population of 60,731,025. Of this number over 1,000,000 were Chinese, with about 250,000 Dutch and other whites. Java alone has about 45,000,000 inhabitants, in an area about the size of New York State with a population about four times that of New York State.

Dutch fear of Japanese aggression has been a constant factor since 1932. Baron Tanaka made his famous, or infamous, statement in 1927. In Decem-

ber, 1931, Gen. Honjo, in a letter to the Japanese War Minister, after describing in glowing terms the future growth of Japanese power, declared:

*"We would then be in a position to drive away the United States to the east of Hawaii and Great Britain to the west of Singapore and to hold supreme power in the Pacific without any difficulty. While all the islands constituting the South Sea Archipelago now under Dutch rule as well as the British colonies of Australia, New Zealand, etc., would be within easy grasp at our Imperial will."*

The Netherland Indies include Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Dutch Guinea, Madura and the Celebes. It is by no means an overstatement to say that they constitute the strategic key to Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, and even India. The Netherland Indies are the link between two great oceans crowded with merchant vessels from the ports of the world.

Control of the Netherland Indies would be a decisive factor in the struggle for the control of the resources of the South Seas which would involve the Philippines and the United States.

In any Pacific conflict, the Netherland Indies would be the scene of the struggle to control the trade routes, to destroy enemy shipping, block supply lines, and prevent effective military or naval activity. The Indies would be the battleground for access to raw materials.

Of course, Japan is first paving the way by peaceful advance and economic penetration. It was stated at the time of the establishment of the South Seas Development Company that the aim of this newly organized, government-supervised machine for southward ex-

pansion was economic penetration. Such a policy is greatly facilitated by the Dutch with their "open door" policy of encouraging trade, investment and development.

Japan has, in recent years, made rapid strides in the economic penetration of the islands. In 1928 the Netherlands shipped to the islands 20.5% of all their imports, while Japan shipped 9.54%. In 1934 the Netherlands shipped 12.98% while Japan shipped 31.88%.

Netherland Indies imports from Japan, 1909-1934:

1909-13	1.25%
1914-18	10.04
1919-23	9.77
1928	10.00
1931	16.38
1933	30.96
1934	31.88

Thus Japan, within two decades, rose from eleventh to first place. In 1933 imports from Japan exceeded those from Holland, Britain and Germany combined.

In 1933 Japan took only 5% of Netherland Indies exports. The trade with other countries more nearly struck a balance. In spite of this Japan continues to demand an end to restrictions on her imports and business.

An excellent example of Japan's ever-widening economic grip is stated by Rupert Emerson in the November 15, 1939, Foreign Policy Report, "The Outlook in Southeast Asia":

*"A striking feature of Malaya's economic development since the World War is the opening up and exploitation of the iron mines of Johore, Trengganu, and Kelantan by Japanese concerns operating with Japanese capital and under Japanese management but with Chinese labor. This develop-*

*ment, paralleling the rise of Japan's steel industry, has been so rapid that Malaya is now Japan's most important source of supply for iron ore in territories not under Japanese control. In 1937 Malayan iron ore production reached a new high of 2,438,000 tons and virtually the entire export of 1,539,000 tons went to Japan. In 1939 Malayan iron ore exports are likely to reach 2,000,000 tons."*

The Ishihara interests have a 99-year lease on a rich mining area in the unfederated Malay State of Trengganu, where it has been reported, there is stored sufficient railroad equipment to double track and operate a line west from the concession to the main trunk line 30 miles away, running from Singapore to Siam. From the standpoint of the concession itself there is no justification for such measures, as there is a perfect outlet on the sea but ten miles away.

Japanese cameramen are busily photographing this whole South Sea area. Indo-China and Cambodia, for instance, are filled with innumerable camera shops run by Japanese.

Siam today has a modern navy, built either in Italy or Japan. A Japanese naval mission is permanently installed at Bangkok. Siam owns the Kra peninsula, and a company to dig the Kra Canal, if and when, has already been formed in Japan.

From the standpoint of trade and essential industrial raw materials, just what do the East Indies mean to the rest of the world, and particularly the United States? A few figures will quickly set forth the situation.

The Netherland East Indies get only 13% of their imports from the Netherlands, and ships but 15% of their exports to the mother country.

Netherland East Indies exports (or production) in percentages of world consumption for 1936:

Quinine	95-98%
Pepper	92
Kapok	77
Wrapped tobacco	50
Rubber	36
Coconut products	27
Fibres	22
Tin	19
Tea	18
Palm Oil	17
Coffee	6
Petroleum	6
Sugar	2

Some items of the Netherland East Indies 1937 exports were:

Rubber	\$298,000,000
Petroleum products	167,000,000
Oil seeds and vegetable oils	105,000,000
Tin	84,000,000
Sugar	51,000,000
Tea	49,000,000
Tobacco	41,000,000

Important products which we imported from East Asia and the South Pacific area, in 1938, were:

Sugar	\$141,891,536
Rubber	133,459,093
Tin	44,860,877
Copper	37,872,300
Tobacco	
(Unmanufactured)	36,028,056
Coconut oil (Philippine Islands alone)	11,399,826
Sisal and henequen	9,571,490
Iron ore and concentrates	5,288,366
Chromite	4,854,892
Manganese	4,760,327
Hemp	167,766
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	\$442,078,009

For 1937 the quantities of certain representative products which we imported from specified countries, within this area, were:

<i>Rubber</i>	
British Malaya	\$152,623,819
Netherland Indies	65,026,101
French Indo-China	6,239,284
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	\$223,889,204

The two next largest sources of rubber, outside this area, were:

Brazil	2,445,847
British India	9,215,488

All countries	\$252,858,689
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<i>Vegetable oils and fats</i>	
China	\$20,737,782
Netherlands Indies	10,714,561
Philippine Islands	19,885,831
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	\$51,343,174

Next largest source:

Brazil	\$5,268,830
All countries	\$81,207,582

*Non-ferrous metals, including tin*

British Malaya	\$79,490,736
China	5,525,035
Netherlands Indies	4,793,716
Hong Kong	2,234,255
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	\$92,043,742

Next largest source:

Canada	\$32,197,794
All countries	\$209,178,021

We now come to one of the most vital factors in the whole situation. It must be kept in mind, here in particular, that the whole policy of Japan is to build up a closed economy where other nations may buy and sell only at the sufferance of Japan, and if and

when it is of advantage to Japan for them to do so.

Essential Industrial Raw Materials most vitally needed by

<i>United States</i>		<i>Japan</i>
Rubber		Rubber
Tin	2%	Tin
Antimony	10%	Antimony
Nickel	5%	Nickel
Manganese	5-6%	Manganese
Mercury	40%	Mercury
Chromite	1%	Wool
		Aluminum
		Cotton
		Lead
		Potash
		Petroleum
		Phosphates
		Zinc

(Percentages represent extent of present U. S. self-sufficiency, according to Section of Metalliferous Deposits, U. S. Dept. of the Interior.)

The first three items on each side are the same, i.e., both Japan and the United States must get more rubber, tin, and antimony from outside sources than any other products needed in their industrial economy. The United States gets 84% of her rubber from East Asia and the East Indies, 64% of her tin, and 70% of her antimony. Japan happens to be self-sufficient in tungsten, but the United States gets 45% of her tungsten imports from this area. The United States Tariff Commission recently reported that our on-hand supply of rubber is sufficient to last us but ten weeks. Japanese control of this area would be a body blow to the industrial and economic functioning of the United States. C. K. Leith significantly states:

*"The ramifications of use in modern*

*industry of some of the deficient minerals are so complex that the lack of a single one often has far-reaching consequences. It is not merely a question of relinquishing a small percentage of our world trade, like taking an egg from a basket in which there are many more of the same kind. It is more like taking a wheel from a watch or an automobile."*

Also, as indicated in the preceding tables, there are many other products, just as important, but which we use in smaller quantities. With the elimination of free trade and the establishment of a closed economy by the Japanese our access to these products would be strictly curtailed, if not cut off altogether.

We would also be both directly and indirectly affected by Japanese occupation of Borneo and Java. By the seizure of these islands, Japan would become largely self-sufficient in oil and would then have control of the two chief sources and distributing points for oil in that part of the world. Oil is now shipped from there to South Africa, India, Australia, China and many other places.

In 1937 our total trade with the whole West and South Pacific area, running from Japan and China down through French Indo-China, Siam and Malaysia, on to Australia, and including all the Netherland Indies, etc., was \$1,484,961,105, which is over twice as much as our total trade with all of South America for 1937, which was \$728,164,672. Our total trade with the same Pacific area for 1938 was \$1,091,371,381.

The possibility of Japanese control of the entire West and South Pacific is not a matter which the United States can well overlook.



## Part II. JAPAN'S NAVAL POLICY

JAPAN began the naval race which led to the calling of the Washington Conference in 1922. The Conference succeeded in establishing certain principles of naval limitation which, though endorsed by the Japanese, were never faithfully adhered to. In the years immediately following the negotiation of the treaty Japan constructed more auxiliary vessels than all the rest of the world together. She kept insisting on what would have given her a vast superiority. Finally, in 1934, Japan denounced the treaty. By this act the whole principle of arms limitation by international agreement was sentenced to death. There are now no limitations of any kind other than the ability to meet the cost.

The present strength of the Japanese navy is unknown. Its future strength is a matter of speculation. It is known, however, that a powerful Japanese navy, with all the strategical factors in its favor, will be practically invincible in its domination of the entire Western Pacific.

Already, Japan's attitude has boosted our naval outlay to a staggering total. Officially the United States does not recognize this situation, but the facts remain.

IN 1922, at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Japan became a party to the Five-Power Naval Pact by which the United States, Great Britain, and Japan bound themselves to the 5-5-3 ratio in naval construction. The special occasion for the calling of the conference was the apparent competitive race in the building of battleships and battle-cruisers on the part of Japan and the United States, a race in which Great Britain was about to enter under the imperative necessity of maintaining contact with her far-flung sources of food and essential raw materials, and protecting her Far Eastern colonies and dominions. France and Italy were the other powers participating in the pact.

Secretary of State Hughes, speaking for President Harding, said in his first note to the Principal Associated and Allied Powers:

*"It is manifest that the question of*

*limitation of armament has a close relation to Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and the President has suggested that the Powers especially interested in these problems should undertake in connection with this conference the consideration of all matters bearing upon their solution with a view to reaching a common understanding with respect to principles and policies in the Far East."*

The conference was pregnant with possibilities. The limitation of armament; the settlement of Pacific problems; and perhaps an agreement for a workable association of nations.

By the terms of the naval agreement the participants agreed to take a ten year naval holiday, and to destroy millions of dollars worth of capital ships. In replacing over-age ships thereafter the ratio was to be kept at 5-5-3.

It seems that Japan has for a long time misrepresented the necessities of

her naval position. Japan has expressed great fear of the United States but it seems that this fear has been based entirely on the assumption that the United States might hinder Japan's long-planned program of aggressive expansion in the Far East and the South Pacific, and her hope for the successful subjugation of China.

Japan had but a small part in the World War. Bound by the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance she declared war on Germany and seized the Shantung territory which had been leased to Germany by China. Shortly thereafter Japan presented to China the infamous Twenty-One Demands. All this while other nations were occupied in Europe, or their attention centered there. Japan's secret treaties of this period were an attempt to strengthen her hold on China before the World War should come to an end.

Quite naturally, then, Japan was troubled, when the war ended and the United States emerged from the conflict with a stronger fleet than ever before. The United States, of course, had no aggressive intentions against Japan, or any other country, but Japan in somewhat of a panic, began stepping up her naval construction. The United States, which requires a fleet as strong, but no stronger, than the fleet of any power or combination of powers which may be brought

against her, was compelled to match Japan.

It was this race which led to the calling of the naval limitation conference. At the time of the conference, in some categories, Japan's navy was actually stronger than the United States Navy.

Japan did not abide by the spirit of this treaty.

What happened at the conference was that the three principal participants, the United States, Great Britain and Japan agreed to scrap a great deal of obsolete battleship tonnage as well as considerable tonnage that was in the planning or construction stage. This angered Japan because, while it was not a vital sacrifice to the other nations, it did make a substantial difference to her. Japan had a considerable number of over-age battleships which were of no value at all on the high seas, but which could be used to telling advantage as coastal batteries and in patrol work in her aggressive pressure against China.

The conference failed to end the race in the building of cruisers, destroyers, submarines and aircraft. The facts are that in the two years following the conference the warships laid down by the powers involved in the 5-5-3 agreement were:

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	<i>Cruisers</i>	<i>Destroyers</i>	<i>Submarines</i>
United States	0	0	0
Great Britain	1	0	0
Japan	7	15	11

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In other words, Japan laid down 33 vessels in these categories to 1 for the United States and Great Britain. She actually laid down more in these two years than all the rest of the world put together, Italy and France combined laying down a total of 29.

The Japanese did not like the Washington Treaty and fretted under it continually. As with the Nine-Power Pact, failure to sign would have advertised her aggressive intentions to the world.

In this connection it is interesting to recall the words of Baron Kato, in his speech on the naval pact, January 14, 1922:

*" . . . I want particularly to draw your attention to one fact. An effort has been made for a number of years to present Japan to you as a military nation designing to dominate the Pacific. Some of us Japanese have tried to disabuse the minds of those who were wont to believe this calumny, but with many the charge remained unrefuted up to the present Conference. Within these recent weeks, Japan, by accepting the 5-5-3 ratio, has given evidence which only the weak-minded will in the future dispute; and at the same time this ratio is also assurance that you have no intention of assaulting us. We have never aspired or intended to challenge the security of America or her far-ranging possessions; we have sought only security for ourselves."*

Baron Kato also made other statements which in themselves leave little to be desired. However, his statements seem never to have represented the official attitude of the real rulers of

Japan. This attitude was aptly expressed in 1923 by Count Soejima, son of one of the most distinguished of His Imperial Majesty's Foreign Ministers in the early days of the Meiji era. The Count stated that the conduct of the Japanese delegates at the conference was "humiliatingly passive" and "full of blunders." The biggest blunder was the acceptance of the naval ratio proposed by America, which, in his opinion, succeeded in preventing Japan from having an "eight and eight" fleet of warships of the latest type, augmented by another "eight and eight" fleet of old but not out-dated sea-fighters, that would have made Japan absolutely invincible against all attacks from outside. The Count blamed Baron Kato, the principal delegate to the conference, for this loss to Japan.

According to Count Soejima the injuries suffered by Japan at the Washington Conference were:

1. Discontinuance of Anglo-Japanese Alliance.
2. Inglorious compulsory exit from Siberia.
3. Inglorious restoration of Shantung to China.
4. Permanent weakening of Japan's Navy, with its strength to be not more than 3/5 of that of England or America.
5. The destruction of Japan's power of naval construction in consequence of the ten-year naval holiday.
6. The disarming of the Japanese mind in consequence of armament reduction.



Japan's demand for parity in 1930 and 1934 was in reality a demand for superiority.

Why, we may well ask, should there be any concern for the "permanent weakening" of Japan's navy when the other two big navies were weakened proportionately, and when, in any event, there was not the remotest possibility of Japan ever being attacked by either or both of these two navies? Because of her strategical location and because the other two navies would be permanently required elsewhere, why should Japan ever need more than 3/5 of the strength of Great Britain and the United States? Japan's demand for parity, taking into account strategical factors, in reality constituted a demand for superiority. Attempting to justify their position, a Japanese spokesman stated that "Aggression against Japan is the traditional policy of the American Navy."

In this connection a statement of Admiral William V. Pratt, as quoted in the Congressional Record, Feb. 10, 1936, is significant:

*"Japan is doing what every country has done which has had motives other than limitation of arms. Her demand for naval parity means that Japan desires to become excessively strong, for the sum of power is not based on naval limitation alone.*

*"If Japan were to have a navy equal in size and strength to the United States, her common limit of power would be greater than ours; her army is superior to ours; her air force is equal to ours.*

*"The Japanese ask for more than is just. She is seeking to do what Ger-*

*many did in the years that led up to the World War. Germany sought the greatest army and the greatest navy. The sum of the power factors gave her a 'common upper limit' of arms far in excess of other nations."*

Why should the "Japanese mind" not be disarmed unless, as we now know was the case, they were actually planning for wholesale naval and military aggression against their neighbors?

In June of 1923 Vice-Admiral Kadzuyoshi Yamaji made a statement, almost exactly duplicating the sentiments of Count Soejima, which was published in the Nihon Oyobi Nihonjin.

As a result of Japan's extensive construction of cruisers, destroyers and submarines, in the period immediately following the Washington Conference, rivalry in the construction of such vessels soon developed. The Geneva Conference, called by President Coolidge in 1927, was unable to solve the problem. Finally at London, in 1930, the United States, Great Britain and Japan reached an agreement limiting the construction of auxiliary ships. The conference also extended the battleship holiday to 1936.

Japan's real emergence as a violator of naval limitation agreements dates from the London Conference of 1930. They have continually misrepresented both as to number of vessels and as to qualitative matters, i.e., tonnage, armament, armor, etc.

Japan was supposedly alarmed by the moves of the United States to build up to treaty limits in the years immediately following the 1930 conference,

and began laying down the large Mogami type cruisers 18 months after signing the 1930 agreement. This action brought the "escalator clause" into play, which meant the abandonment of treaty limits in the event of building not in conformity with treaty limits by any nation.

In 1934 and again in 1936 Japan unsuccessfully demanded parity, but had weakened her own case by admitting the existence of differences in vulnerability and strategic necessity. By this admission Japan let it be known that it was not parity in which she was interested, but actual superiority. Japan's parity proposals meant that Japan would have in the Far East a fleet capable of dominating that entire area, with complete assurance that she could not be interfered with in anything she might choose to do in those waters.

In December 1934, Japan denounced the Washington Naval Treaty, and

would agree to no limitation in 1936. By this action Japan initiated the present costly naval race, with the laying down of 45,000 ton warships. The cost of all this to the United States may soon be over a billion dollars a year.

Japan's denunciation officially terminated the Five-Power Naval Pact two years later, and she walked out of the 1936 conference when her demands for parity were again not acceded to. Since then Japan has recognized no quantitative restrictions on her naval building except the ability to meet the costs, but she overlooked, it seems, the fact that her denunciation of the naval pact also freed the other signatories from any limitations on their building programs. By this act Japan sentenced to death, at the earliest possible moment, the whole principle of the limitation of arms by international agreement. Certain Japanese have stated that there would be no reckless arming or armament races if each country

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#### Proportion of Military and Naval to Total Expenditures

	1931-2	1932-3	1933-4	1934-5	1935-6	1936-7	1937-8
U. S.	13.7%	13.0%	8.0%	10.4%	10.4%	11.4%	12.9% (approx.)
Gt. Brit.	10.8	10.4	11.8	12.4	14.5	20.0	
Japan	30.3	35.9	36.9	44.4	50.5	46.6	

#### National Defense Expenditures (in millions of dollars)

	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
U. S.	667.8	540.3	710.0	911.7	964.9	992.1	1,065.7
Gt. Brit.	426.1	455.5	480.6	595.6	846.9	1,263.1	1,693.3
Japan	199.1	253.1	271.9	296.2	305.1	1,129.8	1,755.3

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were free to arm in accordance with "the requirements" of that country. Japan had actually begun making plans for capital ships as early as August 1934.

At this point some comparative tables on both these pages will be interesting:

Following the World War, with its extraordinary demands, the naval expenditures of the United States declined to \$736,021,456 in 1920. From 1920-1934 they continually dropped until the total for the latter year was only \$297,029,291. Since then our naval budget has increased so rapidly that for the current year we are spending over \$900 million, and our actual expenditures by the end of the 1941 fiscal year, particularly in view of the proposed \$1,300,000,000—\$2,500,000,000 authorization now before Congress,

U. S. Naval Expenditures, 1919-1941

1919	\$2,002,310,785
1920	736,021,456
1934	297,029,291
1935	436,447,860
1936	529,031,666
1937	556,884,449
1938	596,278,301
1939	672,968,993
1940	915,360,249
1941	996,772,878
Total, 1934-1941	\$5,000,773,687
Eight year total based on an annual norm of \$300,000,000	<u>2,400,000,000</u>
What the naval race is costing the United States, 1934-1941	2,600,773,687

will undoubtedly be well over 1 billion dollars. Why all this expenditure? Pacific defense! Against whom? Japan!

Japan's 1936-37 expenditures provided the first instalment of the new 12-year "armament improvement plan," in considerable contrast to the promise by Gen. Araki, in 1932, that the huge increases demanded for the emergency program would be temporary, and that the government would soon return to normal expenditure.

As a direct result of Japan's denunciation of the Washington Naval Pact, her refusal to become a party to the London Naval Treaty signed March 25, 1936, and her refusal to be bound by any limitations whatever, a race, not only in general naval armament, but in 45,000 ton capital ships was begun. In 1937, 16 such ships were under construction, or about to be laid down. Great Britain had 5, the United States 2, with an undisclosed number under construction by the Japanese. The best information to date is that Japan is now working on three ships of the 45,000 ton class. In January, 1938, when the United States and Great Britain addressed notes to the Japanese Government inquiring as to their naval construction and plans, the Japanese politely replied that it was none of our business. Japan also added that as far as she was concerned we could do as we liked, but if we did step up our naval construction, she would then "have no alternative but to alter her building plans." This was a neat bit of strategy, meant to convey the impression that it was Japan which had to keep up with the other Powers. From the very start it was a race begun by Japan in which the United States was forced to participate.



Another interesting angle of the situation is that in 1935, when Japan denounced the naval treaty, no country in the world, apart from the United States, Japan, and Great Britain, possessed a modern battleship of over 10,000 tons—except for one which had been recently built by the French, the 26,500 ton Dunkerque. Great Britain's fleet being required in the Atlantic and Mediterranean there was no one but the United States she could be building against. And why should she build against the United States? The answer is that her whole program was geared to future conquest and aggression.

On July 16, 1937, Secretary of State Hull voiced a warning that the United States was prepared to increase its armed establishment in direct proportion to that of Japan. Though reaffirming President Roosevelt's stand against entangling commitments, the Secretary of State avowed that the United States was willing to consider any agreement on disarmament or economic questions.

As indicated in the above table we are already spending more on naval armaments than went into our entire defense budget, military and naval, six years ago.

On this issue, an interesting and totally unexpected comment from Japanese sources is found in the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* for April 29, 1937:

*"Some 120,000 copies of a pamphlet specially prepared by the Navy Minister are to be distributed on Monday. It is an attempt, says Domei, to awaken the nation to a realization 'of the feverish attempts of Great Britain and the United States and other naval powers, despite their avowals of a desire for disarmament, to expand their fleets'. To put it rather differently, it will bring*

*home to the nation the result of scrapping the Washington and London naval limitations. Had Japan remained content with the ratio granted her at Washington and the increased cruiser strength she won when Baron Wakatsuki went to London, British and American building would have been less frenzied than is the case today, and Japan would have had no need to match it."*

Japan has a policy of strict secrecy with regard to her naval construction, and so far has been unusually successful in keeping her building a secret. "Her shipyards are cities of silence, surrounded by high walls and charged wire, from which no workman ever emerges, into which no foreigner ever goes." Japan's unwillingness to abandon such a policy may bring about such devastating and costly naval competition that Japan can have no hope of being victorious.

Nippon's ships are newer and faster than those of her rivals—for Japan was building during recent years while Britain and America did not trouble to construct the number of ships to which they were entitled by treaty. Auxiliary craft, not limited by treaty, have been constructed in much greater volume in Japan. She also has a large fleet of new and fast (18 knot) cargo ships, all constructed as naval auxiliaries, and, on the subject of auxiliary craft, Japan now has a fishing fleet of over 62,000 registered motor vessels of which about 9,000 are capable of deep sea work in any part of the Pacific. "In time of war they are potential minelayers, minesweepers, and lightly armed scouts." Presumably the business of these fishing boats is fishing but many of them seem bent on other business.

There is reliable information that the Japanese Navy recently gave its consent to the specifications, and a subsidy, for the building of 50 large fishing boats of 650 tons each with which to enlarge the fleet now engaged in fishing off the west coast of Mexico.

It is said that there are now 12 ships and trawlers on the Mazatlan shores, 8 on the Guyama, and 10 on the Puerto Yavarros. On all of these large fishing boats, with the consent of the Mexican Bureau of Fisheries, Japanese captains, engineers, wireless operators and trawler foremen are employed. It is also said that the greater number of these men are reserve officers of the Japanese Navy. The vessel mentioned above have a length of 200 feet. There are also a large number of vessels from 90 to 120 feet long, all steel, between 80 and 100 tons, and with a cruising range of 6000 miles. A large number of these vessels are reconditioned British coast patrol vessels. On this same subject Pearson and Allen commented January 7, 1940, in the *Washington Times Herald*.

Japan's sea power is practically as strong as the United States or Great Britain. The Japanese navy is vastly superior to any opponent fleet if the fighting is to be done in Japanese waters.

To quote from Fletcher Pratt's recent book "Sea Power and Today's War":

*"The whole strategy of the Japanese fleet [and here again is confirmation for the fact that there was no sound basis for Japan's demand for parity] is that it need never challenge the whole British fleet; that it need only face what ships England can spare from the European situation. At present she is*

*perfectly capable of holding these seas against England, cutting off English traffic to Australia, the Indian Ocean and assuring Japanese supply lines across the Pacific and to the south. For many years the safety of these supply lines is all Japan wants or asks.*

*"Japan has enough high speed tankers and other supply boats for the whole Japanese Navy to go round the world without ever visiting port."*

There is now considerable talk, in this country, of the necessity of a two-ocean navy and 65,000 ton battleships. Without the Japanese threat, even with the war in Europe this, of course, would not be necessary. It is estimated that a two-ocean navy would cost the United States \$2,800,000,000, to say nothing of the maintenance of such a huge establishment. It is Japan which is chiefly responsible for the imposition of such burdens.

The Washington Naval Treaty, while it was not ideal, could very well have been hammered into a more perfect instrument, granted the cooperation of all the naval powers. The treaty substituted fair limitations for unbridled competition. There are now no limits but the ability of each country to bear the costs. The liberty to construct naval bases in any part of the Pacific was also restored by Japan's denunciation of the naval pact. The United States is now talking of appropriating money for this purpose.

## CONCLUSION

IT is neither the purpose nor the policy of the United States to relegate Japan to an inferior position in the family of nations, nor is it our purpose to exclude her from access to essential

raw materials. Our double purpose should be to not only stop the present brutal, military aggression of Japan, but to lay a foundation for large-scale international action for the prevention of future conflict. The establishment of a free China and the "Open Door" are first requisites for a just peace in the Far East.

No solution is possible on the basis of the present attitude of the Japanese. Japan invaded Manchuria and North China and is now not only engaged in brutal aggression against China and the Chinese people, who are being bombed to death by hundreds of thousands, but she is also destroying our investments and trade possibilities in China. Japan is doing the former in violation of her solemn pledge to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, and is doing the latter against her pledge to respect the principle of the "Open Door" in regard to trade in China. By thus disregarding her solemn pledges Japan has shaken to the roots the whole system of international law so laboriously built up throughout a series of decades.

Japan is fortifying her various islands and is developing her Mandate in such a way as to give her control of the West and South Pacific.

Japan is penetrating the economic life of the Philippine Islands to an alarming extent.

Japan is gradually reaching the point where she will be able to dominate all of Southeast Asia and the East Indies. Such a position has vast implications not only for the United States, but for the world. Japanese control of the sources of vital industrial raw materials would enable her to dictate, in a very large measure, the economic functioning of highly industrialized countries such as the United States.

Japan's naval policy has been one of constant deception. It is Japan's attitude and her actions which are directly responsible for our present enormous naval outlay.

The furtherance of Japan's program of aggressive expansion is not a matter which the United States can afford to regard with equanimity.

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April 5, 1940

Confidential

In attempting to describe my impressions of the outlook for continued resistance against Japanese aggression, after the five weeks spent in Free China, I shall not vary much from previous reports. The present trip has strengthened on the whole my confidence in the ultimate outcome. Throughout these weeks I have never ceased to learn all that was possible of the temper of government officials of differing ranks or types, of intellectuals and of the ordinary people. In addition to the Generalissimo, T. V. Soong, and Dr. Kung, Minister of Finance, I have had intimate conversations with the Ministers of War, Foreign Affairs, Communications, Economic Affairs, and Education, the Secretary-General of the Executive Yuan (formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs) and the Director of Publicity (formerly Minister of Education), all of whom are old friends, also with the British and American Ambassadors. I have also spent an evening with a group of leading Communists as arranged -- believe it or not -- by the private secretary of the British Ambassador. I shall try to summarize conclusions:

(1) There is not the slightest intention of seeking peace nor of ending the armed resistance until the independence and integrity of the whole of China within the Great Wall can be assured. Manchuria must at least be left as an unsettled issue to be dealt with later by diplomatic negotiation or otherwise. There is less of the earlier overconfidence but a more grim determination on the ground that there is nothing else to do and that nothing could be gained by compromise or even by opening any discussion of terms at this stage. This realistic attitude is entirely genuine and the Government policy is supported by the public. The lack of any favorable response to the Wang Ching-wei bid for an easy peace and the contempt in which he and his hireling followers are held confirms this generalization.

(2) In making this trip I was more concerned to ascertain how serious was the reported estrangement between the Kuomintang and the Communists than with any other aspect of the Chinese internal situation. That this exists and is getting worse must be recognized. But I am confident that in any event it will not hinder the military resistance. The Generalissimo assured me that he had the situation well in hand, that generous offers had been given to the Communist leaders and accepted by them, but that if as a last resort forceful methods were necessary he would not hesitate and had no fears as to results. When I asked to be convinced, he succeeded in doing so although I cannot repeat the details. Conversations with others on this subject were to the same effect. It is an extremely unfortunate ideological conflict, aggravated by a reactionary group within the Kuomintang and perhaps by a somewhat truculent bearing among some of those on the other side. If these latter accept the offer to become a recognized political party and discard military organization after the Constitutional Convention next November, it may even work out as an advantage in compelling the party in power to live up more consistently to its own socialized program. The break, if it comes at all, will most probably be after the war and as a social conflict. There is no evidence that Russian instigation is the cause, nor that the supplies of essential war materials from that source are endangered.



(3) Material resources seem adequate. The Generalissimo reminded me that in a previous conversation he had said he was prepared for three years of fighting and added that he was now thinking in terms of five years beginning with this one and could already see that far ahead, that within three years they would be independent of imported munitions. I asked if he meant to include such things as heavy artillery and airplanes and he replied in the affirmative. There is undoubtedly great industrial activity along these lines, and the demands for small scale operations upon which Chinese troops chiefly depend are already being met by arsenals within the country.

The heaviest strain will probably be financial, but in this -- as in much else -- the very looseness of the national structure may paradoxically prove to be an advantage, in contrast with the closely-knit one of Japan. Credit in gold reserves abroad is still large. Economic hardships are harder on popular morale than upon fighting strength. But further foreign loans to reduce the danger from inflation and to maintain confidence in the country are probably the most practical form of assistance to China as well as of warning to Japan. With these I have no anxiety as to the outcome.

(4) The greatest improvement seems to be in military affairs. Much has been learned in bitter and costly experience. There is less fear of Japanese troops despite their vastly superior training and equipment, and it is believed that the morale of these is weakening. In any case there is no sign that this is true of Chinese troops. Their weakest feature has not been in the soldiers but in the officers, especially those highest in command. These are gradually being superseded and meanwhile a new type of younger officers are in training. These are now being graduated at the rate of 20,000 a year. The Central Government has 4,000,000 men under arms, not including "Reds" and guerrilla units.

It is not likely that the Japanese can win any more decisive victories or make notable further advances. If the Chinese armies cannot drive them back and out of the country they can at least keep them at bay and harass them in a war of attrition. Even in aviation there will be a manifest "come back" if the war continues long enough. Magnetic mines are being introduced on the Yangtze River and over a dozen Japanese vessels have been struck by these during the last two months. Dr. Kung, who told me this, was reminded of a composition he had to write in English when a student in the old Union College at Tungchow (one of the earlier colleges which were united into the present Yenching University). It was just after the naval defeat by Japan (1894-95) and he described his dream of a magnet powerful enough to draw the Japanese men-of-war into positions where China could destroy them. President Sheffield remarked after listening to him read it that it was indeed a fantastic dream.

It has been generally assumed by foreign military observers that Chinese staff-work was unable to put into effect any large coordinated movement, Chinese being too individualistic and untrained to the importance of precision and promptness. But after the failure of a

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large-scale attempt to recapture Nanning, capital of Kuangsi Province, the Generalissimo spent a day on the spot probing into the causes, reprimanding, punishing, or commending the ten generals concerned. The interesting point is not that this operation failed, but that such coordinated action is being seriously planned.

(5) There is the stirring of creative activity all through this region, largely under government initiative and more or less directly to increase production for aid in winning the war. There are elaborate schemes for frontier development, foreign trade, factories, mining, oil-wells, food conservation. Nor is money lacking for executing these. There is waste and faulty planning, as well as exaggerated estimates of the gain. Nor is it all unselfishly patriotic. The wise ones point out that at the best these constructive projects can yield only a fraction of what is needed. But there is much real progress and the results will improve with further experience.

(6) The least hopeful aspect is in politics. Age-long practices and social patterns provoke the human weaknesses to which Chinese officialdom has been peculiarly susceptible, nor have the national danger and nascent patriotic urgings been able to eradicate these. The Japanese everywhere tempt frightened, harassed, or avaricious individuals to traitorous deeds. But even here the wonder is that in view of old traditions, the ignorance or indifference of the masses, the cruel hardships of the war, and other factors, the mutual jealousies and suspicions, the greed and graft, the cowardly timidities and callous unconcern, are no worse than they are. Certainly there is far less of all this than the Japanese had quite naturally counted on exploiting, and patriotic Chinese or their friends had feared. I include this paragraph to put myself and you on guard against too unrealistic optimism.

(7) Last and as the most significant new feature, China will apparently not consider any peace negotiations except as mediated by the United States. Her leaders seem to feel that only thus can they have any confidence in Japanese promises. But this puts a responsibility on our country or on our President which cannot be lightly undertaken. In any case it would doubtless not be considered by him unless both nations request it, and the Japanese will be very reluctant to do so. They desperately want to end the war, but what they have in mind is achieving this while holding on to as much of the spoils as they can by bargaining or blustering with the Chinese directly. They are well aware that they would have no chance of this with any third party as mediator, least of all America. But if my forecast is correct, it at least helps toward estimating the length of time and the course of events before this war can be brought to an end. It must drag on until the Japanese people awake to the realization that no puppet schemes can end it, and become sufficiently aware of its futility and its menacing dangers to themselves to oppose their military. Their leaders must then take the distasteful and humiliating course of turning to the United States for mediation. This will require some time yet to elapse. But the settlement when it comes ought to be just and enduring.





Volume XXX

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No. 5

## American Policy In China

By CORDELL HULL

## Towards China's Renaissance in War-Time

By ARTHUR RUGH

In the light of what has happened in various parts of China since 1931, the setting up of a new regime at Nanking has the appearance of a further step in a program of one country by armed force to impose its will upon a neighboring country and to block off a large area of the world from normal political and economic relationships with the rest of the world.

The developments there appear to be following the pattern of other regimes and systems which have been set up in China under the aegis of an outside power and which in their functioning especially favor the interests of that outside power and deny to nationals of the United States and other third countries enjoyment of long-established rights of equal and fair treatment which are legally and justly theirs.

The Government of the United States has noted statements of high officials of that outside power that their country intends to respect the political independence and the freedom of the other country and that with the development of affairs in East Asia this intention will be demonstrated. To this Government, the circumstances, both military and diplomatic, which have attended the setting up of the new regime at Nanking do not seem consistent with such an intention.

The attitude of the United States toward use of armed force as an instrument of national policy is well known. Its attitude and position with regard to various aspects of the situation in the Far East have been made clear on numerous occasions. That attitude and position remain unchanged.

This Government again makes full reservation of this country's rights under international law and existing treaties and agreements.

Twelve years ago the Government of the United States recognized, as did other governments, the National Government of the Republic of China. The Government of the United States has ample reason for believing that that Government, with capital now at Chungking, has had and still has the allegiance and support of the majority of the Chinese people. The Government of the United States, of course, continues to recognize that Government as the Government of China.—April 1.

A LADY in Seattle asked me anxiously if many of our young Christian leaders had been killed in the army. My pride in China was high as I told her that the Chinese Government has asked all such men, leaders of any kind, in religion, education, rural reconstruction, or anything else to stay out of the army and go on with the Renaissance. And students in colleges, if they are willing to do so, are asked also to stay out of the army and get ready for their part in China's reconstruction. It is high grade statesmanship.

Our concern is whether and how America can best help China in that Renaissance. To be sure, a primary question is whether China is to be allowed of her own free will to go on with that Renaissance or not and whether America can help there.

I submit one brief word at that point, content to make it brief because I believe it is absolutely basic—if America is ready to announce to the world that she has decided to do the right and to stand by the right as God gives her to see the right, cost what it may, then China can go on with her Renaissance in peace. Yes, I know that sounds so old-fashioned as to be silly in a realistic world. It is old, as old as God and truth and it is just as sure of final victory.

I shall not argue the case, but with one word. I heard of a Quaker friend whose neighbor called him in the night and reported that a dangerous burglar was in his house and he was sore pressed in trying to defend his family and his home. The Quaker took his gun, went to his neighbor's house, faced the burglar and said, "Thee should stand away from where thee is standing. I intend to shoot where thee is standing."

I commend that story to guide America in her policy in the Far East. It is manly, forthright, and I believe Christian. The story was never finished. I do not know what happened, except one thing. A Quaker did what he believed was right. He risked getting hurt. He probably lost the good will of the burglar, to his regret. It would be difficult to shoot where a burglar was standing out of his place and retain the burglar's affection, but the

Quaker did what a Quaker would do and retained his self-respect.

Can Christian America help China stay free to go on with the Renaissance of her life? Well, America has no other course to follow if she is to remain Christian. If America is ready to defend the right by whatever means is most useful, forgetting the cost, then peace will reign in Asia. If then America should help China to retain her freedom, to go on with the Renaissance of her life, have we then saved China? Not yet. Lin Yutang says, "One of these days China will shout, 'Victory', but will shout 'Victory' with gasps." That is true. What faces us is that one of these days China, gaunt-eyed and staggering, will lay down her arms and take up her major interest, the program of national reconstruction at which she is so bravely working even now. And there is America's chance.

What China needs primarily is modern trained personnel in the leadership of all phases of her life. China has racial capacity and natural resources but lacks the modern skills in developing these resources. Of course her new educational system was planned to meet just that need and was making much headway, but American-made bombs demolished the college buildings, destroyed the laboratories, burned the libraries, killed and scattered students and teachers until not much is left.

This, then, is our proposition; that, China's educational system having been demolished by the effective aid of American dealers in oil, iron, and silk, that the Christians of America cooperate with China in providing modern education for China's future leadership. Happily if we want to do that, we know how to do it. The experimenting has been done. The process is well known. Fifty-one per cent of the leaders of China who appear in China's *Who's Who* are products of the Christian schools of China. Our part is to expand the work of these schools, to a point where they can help China provide an adequate number of educated leaders.

Thirty-five years ago in Shanghai I had a Bible class of Chinese boys. All of them were of China's common clay. Not one of them came from a home of an an-



nual income of \$100.00 for the whole family. They all went through the process of education in Christian schools in China. Three of them have been presidents of three of China's leading colleges. One is one of China's front line bacteriologists, two are now national figures in China's industrial development, one was Ambassador to Belgium, and Dr. C. T. Wang was China's last Ambassador to America, before Dr. Hu Shih.

An orphan girl in Nanking was left alone with her mother. Tragedy had stalked their family until only the two were left and they with nothing left but to hope for the end. Miss Mead found them, loved them. The orphan girl graduated from Ginling, got her doctor's degree in America, became President of Ginling, was chosen leader of China's delegation of fifty-seven religious leaders to the World's Conference at Madras, and is now back in West China rebuilding her Ginling to provide for the leadership of China's womanhood, more Dr. Wu Yifangs.

The Christian colleges are in China not as selfish propagandists of our religion but as servants of the people in the spirit of Christ. If China needs engineers, she asks Hangchow Christian College for them and gets them but not enough. If China needs trained organizers of co-operatives, she asks Nanking University for them and gets them but not enough. If China needs medical supplies and can't get them from abroad, she asks West China University to find them in the plants and chemicals of West China and she gets them but not enough. If China needs journalists and scientific experiments in rural reconstruction, she asks Yenching for them and gets them but not enough.

Last week in Los Angeles I spoke to a little church which has adopted a Chinese orphan girl as their investment in China. The girl has no possessions on earth except a very lovely soul, great gifts in the sciences, and an undefeatable passion to be a doctor. The church helped her through high school ready for college. She was one of the sixteen hundred who could not get into Yenching, but she did get into what is left of Shantung Union Christian University. I asked the church to send thirty dollars for her first semester in college—tuition, board, room, and all expenses. To be sure she had enough they sent fifty dollars. Exchange was up to 14.50 for 1, and Lee San Yu began her college life with enough money in the bank to carry her half way through college. There is something sacred and tragic about life when a one hundred dollar check is the difference for a brilliant Chinese girl between becoming a trained leader for her nation or just one more impoverished woman seeking some way to eke out an existence.

All over China, in hamlets, towns, and countryside are very gifted children who long for learning as blind men long for light. If they get it, they will lead China to her high destiny in the family of nations. If they don't get it, China is a good field for the plotting of sinister forces now abroad in the earth. America and America alone has available the help

## THE CHINESE LION

By ROBERT T. MARTIN 3rd

The Chinese lion greets the rising sun  
With lashing tail and moves out of its glare.

A million million rising suns have set  
And still at night the lion seeks his lair.

The Yellow River meets the sea's embrace  
And soon becomes an eddy in the flood.

Another river flows the other way  
But soon it too will join the river mud.

Chuk, chuk—the bamboo bends  
The wind may break its shoots  
But down deep in the sheltering soil  
No storm can reach its roots.

Moving chopsticks—one stays firm,  
Touch the rice at will,  
Only when the bowl is clean  
Will their movement still.

Men in generations fall to dust  
And, like the roots of life, give rise to life;

The plum branch grafted to the pine  
Blooms not and, withered, waits the pruning knife.

## Chinese Institute of Pittsburgh Keeps Active

The Chinese Institute of Pittsburgh, composed of college students and high school graduates, has members attending the University of Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Seton Hill College, Pennsylvania College for Women, and Washington and Jefferson College. The officers are Bim Faye Yee, President; Wen-hsing Yen, Vice-President; Joseph Yee Quill, Secretary, and Evelyn Yee Quill, Treasurer, and Lucille Yee Linn, Social Chairman.

To celebrate the Chinese New Year, the members and their American friends held a party at the Faculty Club of the Carnegie Institute of Technology on February 9th. The entertainment consisted of ping-pong, pool, games, and dancing. We were most fortunate to have Dr. Chao-Ting Chi, Chinese economist from New York, at the gathering and we all enjoyed his short talk to the group.

—Joseph Yee Quill.

which the Chinese people and the Chinese nation deserve.

Many have come to list China's future in our world not as optional but as one of their major responsibilities, on which they spend time and money and energy as men do on major responsibilities.

Is the future China to bless the world with culture and lead the world to peace? That depends upon whether we Christians decide to be selfish or unselfish. The issue is as simple and as dangerous as that.

## Activities of the Chinese Students in the University of Wisconsin in Aiding China

By TEH-WEI LIU

It is a great pleasure to share with you our experience in serving China in our simple ways here in Madison with the hope that you will share yours with us. Madison is a small University town of about 57,000 people including 14,000 students; among them there are only 16 Chinese. Mr. Richard I. C. Wang was our president last year who was an enthusiastic leader and never failed to come forward to shoulder any task which worked to the benefit of our people. Our new president is Mr. Kwang-tai Hu who is a very clear-minded fellow of genuine leadership. In spite of the fact that he is very new here, he is already beginning to be one of China's voices speaking around and making friends for our fatherland.

Ever since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, we have been trying to do whatever we can. From 1937 to '38 Mr. Ching-Yuen Hsiang, Mr. Kai-Loo Huang and Mr. Jen-Yin Yen made many speeches for our cause. In the summer of 1938 Mr. Ching-Yuen Hsiang together with Mrs. L. Drake, Mrs. R. W. Agard, and Mrs. G. H. Doane worked hard through many difficulties to organize the Madison China Aid Council. Immediately after its inauguration, a Chinese Tag Day was held and \$750 was collected with the assistance of the Chinese Students Club. In the same year a Chinese Thanksgiving Dinner turned in a contribution of \$300 for the wounded civilians.

In the summer, 1939, Miss Teh-Wei Liu addressed the City Council and aroused their interest in China to such an extent that a permission of a second tag day was granted, while the rest of the Chinese students spoke in different dormitories and churches to win enough sympathy and to get people signed up to help on the tag day. At last the day arrived and there were more than 100 Americans including professors and their families and city merchants holding contribution cans to collect pennies, dimes, and dollar bills for the Chinese war victims at all street corners under the red hot sun. At sunset the Madisonians had already translated their sympathy into \$640 for China.

In the gay approaching of Christmas, Mr. Ching-Yuen Hsiang designed a Christmas card with a typical Chinese "Three Friends" picture which the China Aid Council sold 2,000 copies for \$100. Through our club the Ling Lang Museum in Chicago sent loads of Chinese articles to the Chinese Christmas Bazaar in Madison sponsored by the China Aid Council. In the Bazaar the Chinese Student Club put up a one act play written by one of our members, Mr. Philip Chi-Cheng Lin. The Bazaar and the play together turned in \$400 in two days. In a year and a half Madison has already sent more than \$2,000 to China besides the funds which went through the hands of the churches.

At present we are working for the coming Chinese shadow play in a drive of \$500.



# AIR RAIDS AND FAMILY DEVOTIONS

By ROY L. SMITH

OVER the savory dishes served to us in a fascinating little restaurant in Los Angeles Chinatown, we were discussing the war in China, and Bishop Ralph A. Ward told me a story of Christian faith and charity which seems to me to be of epic quality. For Christian confidence and serenity I have never heard its equal, and I believe my readers will agree that it deserves a conspicuous place in the story of the Modern Acts of the Apostles.

A certain Canadian, who must go unnamed, one time aviator in the World War, was in attendance upon some official business in China's Capital, and in the course of his visit had an opportunity to meet General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Unable to finish the matter they had in hand, Madame Chiang extended an invitation to share their evening meal with them.

The dinner appointment was for 7:30, but at 7 o'clock the Canadian found himself in the immediate vicinity of the Chiang home. It was too far to return to his hotel and come back to the dinner, and there was nothing to do in the neighborhood. Accordingly he decided to present himself at his host's door a half hour early, hoping to be excused for his early arrival. Madame Chiang answered his knock, meeting him personally. "You're early," she said, as she ushered him into the simple livingroom. "Yes, and for that I apologize, but I was in the neighborhood with nothing to do, and I ventured to come in ahead of time," the Canadian replied. "It is quite all right," his hostess assured him. "But I have some work

that I must finish before dinner, and if you will entertain yourself with these magazines, I will go ahead. The Generalissimo will be in shortly to greet you."

The Canadian confessed to an interest in his surroundings that can well be understood, and for listening to the conversation that went on between Madame Chiang and a servant a few minutes later, he can, perhaps, be forgiven. The evening lamps were lighted and all was quiet in the living-room when the servant appeared and approaching his mistress said in a low tone of voice, "We have just had word that there is to be an air-raid in thirty minutes. In twenty minutes the lights will go out."

Madame Chiang glanced at her watch, and then said very quietly, "bring me my flash-light." "Here it is," the servant answered, laying it down on the desk and retiring. Madame Chiang went on writing as unperturbed as if she had been told that dinner would be served in twenty minutes, but the Canadian said he was trembling from head to foot. Here he was under the same roof with two people who were wanted by the Japanese bombers more than any other two people in the world. If the Generalissimo and his brilliant wife could be bombed, it would be worth more to the Japanese than the destruction of a whole Chinese Army. Madame Chiang could not possibly have been unaware of the tenseness of the moment, but she apparently gave it not the slightest thought, aside from an occasional glance at her watch.

Fifteen minutes that seemed hours dragged by, and the Canadian was all eyes

and ears. At last Madame Chiang looked up from her writing, glanced at her watch and said, "We have just had word that there will be an air-raid within a few minutes. The lights will go out in one minute, and I will ask you to go with me into the yard." So saying she arose, picked up some papers and her flash-light, and seemed to be preparing to leave the house, when the General appeared. Almost at the same instant the house was plunged into darkness. Lighting their way with the little flash-light the three passed out into the night.

Somewhere in the yard they stopped, and in the distance the roar of the planes could be distinctly heard. Two minutes afterward the bombs were dropping, and bursting with a thunderous roar. Less than a quarter of a mile away three bombs dropped, destroying an entire block of the city of Chungking. The night sky was lighted up by the explosions and the fires that followed, and after the planes had passed over, Madame Chiang said, "We will go back now. It is all over."

As they sat at dinner, no mention was made of the raid. The General and his wife spoke quietly of the war, of the sufferings of the Chinese people, of the amazing spirit of unity that was coming into being within the nation, and of the great reforms that must come if China was to become a great modern nation. But there was not one word about personal danger, or the night's bombing.

The Canadian had come to the moment when he felt he should excuse himself and return to his hotel. As he prepared to go General Chiang said, "Must you go



CHINESE STUDENTS AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY



immediately? We would be happy if you would stay and join us in our evening's devotions."

Such an invitation comes to very few, and the Canadian quickly acquiesced, seating himself again. With that a Bible was produced and the General began by reading some Scripture, then the three joined in prayer, the General leading.

Says the Canadian, "I never expect to hear such a prayer again in all my life. Then General began with a simple expression of thanks for their personal safety. Then he added thanks for the courage of the nation under fire. Then he prayed for strength for the men in the field and along the firing lines; he prayed for strength; for himself, and a most earnest plea for guidance and wisdom, that he should not fail the people.

But the most amazing thing in his prayer was a plea that God would help him and help China, not to hate the Japanese people. He prayed for the Japanese Christians, and all the suffering multitudes of Japan whose impoverishment was making the war on China possible. He prayed for the people who were bombed, for forgiveness for those who dropped the bombs.

In the simplest and humblest terms he laid himself at the service of Almighty God, and begged that he might know the Divine will, and do it on the morrow.

When the thirty minutes of Scripture and prayer were concluded, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang, rose, extended their hands in friendly good-nights, and escorted their guest to the door. As he went out into the night and started on his way to the hotel, he was saying to himself, "At last I have found two Christians." —*China Inf. Service.*

### TUCKER RELATES EXPERIENCES IN PRISON IN JAPAN

The Rev. Luther Tucker, speaking on March 31 at St. Bartholomew's Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City, mentioned some of the experiences that he had last fall in Kyoto, Japan, where as secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation he passed almost two months in a police jail awaiting trial on a charge of spreading seditious literature and false reports.

It was the first sermon that Mr. Tucker had given since his return to the United States on March 4. He left Japan for Shanghai on Dec. 18, after receiving a four months' prison sentence which was suspended on condition that he should not be re-arrested within the year.

He called his sermon, "The Pathway to Christian Victory," and took as his texts, "I, John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ," Revelation, i, 9 and "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world," St. John, xvi, 33.

"They happen to be two verses which accumulated rich stores of meaning for me during the seven weeks and more which I spent last autumn in a Japanese

police station," the Rev. Mr. Tucker said.

#### 'Victory of Tribulation'

"Christian victory is rarely recognizable as such from the outside because it does not fit in with the categories by which in our ordinary thinking we judge between victory and defeat," he said. "It is a victory of tribulation, a victory which nine times out of ten looks like defeat."

Nothing that he was able to do in his two years in the Orient as a missionary, he said, had nearly the effectiveness of his "two months of inactivity," while he was in jail. He suggested that although ordinary situations in life are not so often dramatic as his, that "God turns our powerlessness to His purpose" in all situations.

Mr. and Mrs. Tucker have two daughters, the younger of whom was born in Shanghai last Dec. 22, the day after Mr. Tucker returned from Japan.

### New Chinese Art Council to Promote Chinese-American Relations

A group of Americans and American returned Chinese students, led by Julean Arnold, have recently organized in China a "Chinese Art Council," whose main objective is to encourage the appreciation of the art and culture of China in the United States. Cooperative units will be established in America.

Julean Arnold, American commercial attache in China, has long observed the great need of the American people getting in further touch with the art and culture of China. That they are interested is evidenced by the popularity of Lin Yutang's book on Chinese philosophy. Mr. Arnold and Y. E. Hsiao, recently returned to the Shanghai "Y," got together and organized plans for the Council.

Among the projects the Council has in mind are:

1. Get public schools on the Pacific Coast to display maps featuring the Pacific as the center of the world. Induce the Pacific Coast ports to set up mapariums.

2. Get museums carrying Chinese art exhibits to give more publicity to the materials carried so as to make arrangements for their display before selected groups of school children under proper guidance. Get local papers in cities where there are museum exhibits of things Chinese to play them up encouraging a wider interest.

3. Get some organizations as the China Foundation in America and the Chinese department of an American university to issue a complete up-to-the-minute catalog of all museums in America carrying special Chinese art exhibits, with brief outlines of the objects of interest in each of the museums.

4. Get the Chinese restaurants in the larger cities and the more popular of the Chinese restaurants to attach carefully worked out descriptive matter, in English, to objects of Chinese art displayed in the restaurants, including interesting Chinese decorative material, Chinese sayings, etc. These restaurants could advantage-

ously get out colored picture post cards featuring some of these materials or art objects, inviting patrons to address them to friends, the restaurants to defray mailing expenses.

5. Impress into service in America the Chinese students in the popularization of Chinese art objects, in the staging of special exhibits, in cooperating with civic clubs in putting on a special Chinese day where loan art exhibits may be displayed with proper explanatory material. In this category may also be included Chinese musical instruments, theatrical costumes, shadow pictures, etc. The use of motion picture material, especially in technicolor, may be helpful where obtainable.

6. The use of Chinese art for calendars and Chinese fans and other objects of art in varied form should be encouraged in advertising in America.

Officers of the Council are: Honorary president, Alfred Sao-ke Sze; Chairman, Julean Arnold; vice-chairman, W. H. Tan; secretary, Y. E. Hsiao; treasurer, Manfield Freeman; Major Arthur Bassett, T. F. Wei.

### \$5,000 IN PRIZES OFFERED IN CHINA ESSAY CONTEST

Five thousand dollars in cash prizes will be awarded to American students in American colleges and universities writing the best essays on the subject, "Our Stake in the Future of China," according to an announcement by the China Essay Contest, 33 West Fifty-first Street, New York City, of which Mrs. Pherbia Thomas is director.

The contest is designed to stimulate thought and discussion on Far Eastern questions, and especially to promote consideration of "why it is to the interest of the United States to have a strong, free, and independent China," according to Mrs. Thornburg. Essays are not to exceed 1,500 words.

An array of experts including many who have interested themselves in Far Eastern affairs, are to judge the essays, all of which must be submitted by midnight of June 30, 1940.

Judges are: Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews, Director, American Museum of Natural History; Dr. James Rowland Angell, President Emeritus Yale University; Pearl Buck, author; Mrs. William Brown Meloney, Editor of This Week Magazine; Theodore Roosevelt, former United States High Commissioner to the Philippines; Senator Elbert D. Thomas (D) of Utah; Lowell Thomas, radio commentator; Alexander Woollcott, author and critic, and Rear Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, U. S. Navy (retired).

The first prize is \$1,200 in cash and carries with it a round-trip to China via Pan American Airways Clipper ship, Far Eastern conditions permitting. The second prize is \$750; the third, \$500, and there are 34 other prizes.

College newspapers publishing the best stories on the essay contest will receive cash prizes totaling \$500. Judges for the newspaper award are: Col. Gilbert Hodges, New York Sun; Col. Frank Knox, Chicago Daily News; and William Allen White, Emporia Gazette.





## Jottings

### From

## San Francisco

By ERNEST LUM

THE Bay Region's most outstanding event in months was the recently sponsored Bowl of Rice Party in San Francisco's Chinatown. February 9, 10 and 11 saw Chinatown gripped in a spending fever which brought in more than 19,000 pieces of glistening silver. On Friday night the cheering throngs tossed more than \$3,800 into the huge Chinese flag and the Rice Bowls during the downtown parade. So great was the crowd in Chinatown on Sunday afternoon that they found it impossible to hold the parade in the quarters. The long procession, including a refugee brigade, was again sent downtown and this time returning with \$4,500.

Among Chinatown concessions the kangaroo court proved to be unusually popular. With fines ranging from 50c to \$270, the total receipt was approximately \$3,500 as reported by the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce, this year's sponsors of the court. George Mar, once a record breaker on high school tracks, was fined 500 coopers for being asleep on his legs.

"I would have gotten away," he protested, "but . . ." Fraternity brother Frank Nipp came to his rescue but all he was able to do was to talk himself into a fine. Lim P. Lee was much occupied as usual.

Students from the University campus too had their parts to play. In the ever so popular fashion show we found Nellie Tom, Mary Cheong, Lily Yee, and Lucille Wong modeling costumes of ancient China and gowns of the ultra modern. The accompanying music was furnished by the talented Chue sisters of Oakland, Ruth, Alice, and Helen.

Humanity buttons sold on campus amounted to over 1,000. Among those deserving special mention for their efforts are President George Mew of the Students Club, Bernice Heu, Bill Koe, Sophie Ong, Dolores Wing, Bob Lym, Jr., Ivan Feng, and Lawrence Lee. It may be interesting to know that more than \$75,000 was raised by the recent campaign.

Let us return to the activities on campus. This semester the International House's Chinese Language Table, a Friday night dinner discussion group is being guided by its able chairman, Jung-pang Lo, graduate student from Yenching University. Assisting him are Daisy Fung and Edith Chan, program chairman and treasurer respectively. Prominent speak-

ers on China are generally invited to the dinners which almost always are followed by short numbers of entertainment. Incidentally Mr. Lo's talk before the Episcopal Church on behalf of the FESSF was answered most generously by Mr. Robert Grainger who contributed \$100 smilingly. To date a total of \$1,075 has been received.

Words had come to us that the 900 text books collected on the campus had arrived in China. We owe the American President Lines a vote of thanks for the free transportation of the 17 crates of books. These books are destined for the shelves of the Southwest Union University.

In a recent forum on the present conflict between China and Japan and the abrogation of the commercial treaty between Japan and the United States, Frank Nipp presented China's arguments with such effectiveness that the listeners were greatly impressed. His refutation of statements advanced by university professors was particularly responsive. Incidentally the Japanese Consulate declined an invitation to send a representative to speak at the forum. Frank, being well informed of the international situation and especially that of the Far East, has been filling speaking engagements most frequently.

### Boston Holds Leap Year Party

Paying double respect to the Roosevelt "tradition" of celebrating holidays a week in advance, Boston young people staged their Valentine Dance on January 31 at the Denison House. The usual people attended, and nothing exciting happened in spite of the fact that the Party was dubbed "Leap-year". Obvious conclusion seems to be that Boston Chinese girls are shy, or perhaps, that gentlemen prospects are not very prospective. We danced to the same old music and with the same young girls.

Only three things about the Party were new: 1) We made a new acquaintance in Henry's brother, Edmund Caulfield, Henry, a Lingnam exchange student, and a member of the C.S.C.A. Conference Committee for the Investigation of the Possibilities of Facilitation of the Channels of Contact of Overseas Chinese, so as to Enable them

to Obtain Employment in China, is blond, while the latter is brunette. 2) Student-preacher Edmund Hsu, last year's Vice-President of the Boston C.S.C.A., took the night off from the Episcopal Theological School and came to our Party for the first time. 3) Fred Yee, Member-at-large of the Central Executive Board in 1938, who has been holding down an engineering job at Stone and Webster and simultaneously trying to make Chinatown insurance-conscious, invaded the Party, assuring the people that they would also enjoy coming to the Chinese Alpha Lambda Fraternity Dance, at Bates Hall, Central YMCA, on February 24. This dance, by the way, is for Medical Relief, and it is known that quite a few tickets have been sold to Americans on the proposition that they will have the chance to dance with slant-eyed Oriental beauties.

R. D. Wu.

### Tsing Hua to Award 15 Fellowships to Students

Tsing Hua University will award 15 scholarships to bright and needy private students in the United States, according to an announcement recently made public by the China Institute in America, 119 West 57th Street, New York City.

Regulations governing the awards are as follows:

1. Applicants for the prizes shall be private Chinese students who are studying in American graduate schools, who have excellent scholastic standing and who are in need of financial aid.

2. The prize shall be four hundred (\$400.00) for the academic year beginning September and ending June of the following year and shall be paid in ten equal monthly stipends. A holder shall forfeit the prize in case of departure from the United States during the school year.

3. The quota of the awards shall be limited to fifteen.

4. The term of the award shall be limited to one year, but may be extended in case the holder of the prize makes a distinguished scholastic record and in case the quota is not filled. Application for renewal of the award shall be according to the same procedure for those who are applying for the first time.

5. Applicants shall fill out blanks provided for by this University accompanied by an official and full transcript of courses of their studies, with letters of recommendation from professors and plans of research. Applications shall be sent to the China Institute in America before the end of February. The Institute shall forward all applications to the University Senate for its consideration and decision. (The closing date for applications for the twenty-ninth year of the Republic, that is, 1940, shall be April 30.)

6. The awards shall be offered tentatively for three years beginning with the twenty-ninth year of the Republic.

7. These regulations are passed by the University Senate and filed with the Ministry of Education.

## TEA IN TYLER STREET

By ED CHIN PARK

In a meeting of the Executive Committee of the C.S.C.A. held on one bleak winter's evening within the cozy interior of the headquarters of the organization—at which meeting the better half of the Committee were unfortunately but happily away on vacation, and hence absent—it was enthusiastically proposed that, amongst the many other suggested activities for the season, there should be a social get-together to provide an opportunity for the incognito members of the C.S.C.A. to recognize their own in the crisis to come, in short, a real tea party. . . .

The afternoon of the seventh (January) turned out to be very dry, a biting wind tore through the ill-swept street, and the last rays of light were fast fading in the east as old Phoebus hastened towards home. The withered arm of the clock within the office at number fifty-seven Tyler Street struck four. The weary survivors of the high and mighty Committee braced themselves for the ordeal for once their number were seven, but with the relentless passage of time they were reduced to three; they lacked even the rippling cheers of their comely secretary for she too was detained and at quite some distance. Who were the three? Suffice to say that tall and lanky Peter "Lincoln" Tung was at the tiller of the gallant vessel, Wer Dai, he of Tech you know, was busy stoking the boiler, while another from Tech, whom you may also know, was eying the whole situation with accepted resignation.

A little after four the much used door swung ajar; the last of the three of previous mentioned stepped forward and introduced a distinguished couple who had stepped into the hall:

"Dean MacCormack, allow me to introduce Mr. Peter Tung. Mr. Tung is our President of the Chinese Students' Christian Association and is studying at Harvard at present."

Dean and Mrs. exchange greetings with the President, and were in turn introduced to a small but illustrious body; there was Dr. T. Y. Chang of the Department of Public Health at Harvard Medical School, recently of London and the Peiping Union Medical College, Messrs Henry Huang, B. Arch. (A.A. London), M. Arch. (Harv.), Chester Moy, B. Sc. in Arch. (Michigan), B. Arch. (Harv.), Wei Der B. Sc. (M.I.T.) and others of lesser degrees!

At the half past four, the Dean began to speak on the subject of Housing, using his own personal experiences as an Architect in Cleveland with the Housing administration to carry his points. He discussed the pros and cons of the present USHA Housing program, and emphasized that the problem of providing shelter for the lowest income bracket was not yet solved. After his talk, the meeting was turned into an open forum, and the audience swelled in groups of two and threes to well over thirty, questioned the Dean concerning social, economic, and technical sides of the Slum Clearance project and

## United States Sustains Non-Recognition Doctrine

**R**EFUSAL by the United States to recognize the new Japanese puppet regime in China under Wang Ching-wei sustains with vigor the Stimson Doctrine of 1932.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull indirectly referred back to his predecessor when he said, in his statement on April 1, that Japanese actions in China "since 1931" produce a situation the United States cannot recognize.

Henry L. Stimson, as Secretary of State, gave worldwide scope to the doctrine that territorial or other gains brought about in violation of peace instruments, should not be legally sanctioned by the nations.

### "Open Door" Closed

The first time Japan invaded China in disregard of treaty obligations and established the puppet state of "Manchukuo," the Open Door was closed in Manchuria, as it is being closed today in Central China. Then the League of Nations was getting its first real test as an effective check against aggression, with a certain amount of cooperation from America. When the League machinery bogged down the United States alone took the comparatively drastic step of proclaiming the principle of nonrecognition of forceful conquests.

Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State at the time, drew up the now-famous Stimson Doctrine, which states that America will not recognize any political situation, treaty, or agreement which might impair the treaty rights of the United States or which is brought about by means of force.

As nonrecognition by one State would have little effect, Secretary Stimson hoped to enlist the support of the other powers and to have it applied in all future cases of aggression, thus making it a permanent part of world peace machinery.

### Powers "Too Busy"

As it happened, however, the other major powers were too preoccupied with getting out of the depression to be con-

cerned about Manchuria, where neither they nor the United States had any great economic interests.

the relation which the accumulated experiences of housing for the masses had to bear upon the situation in China. Dr. Chang rightly pointed out that the principal item that must be solved before China can achieve good housing for her people was that of sanitation and the installation of plumbing fixtures in low-cost housing projects at a cut-rate price. Tea was served after awhile; the tea being poured by Mrs. Walter R. MacCormack assisted by Miss Priscilla Goonyep.

After tea, the whole meeting was adjourned to number eight, Tyler Street, where with Dean and Mrs. MacCormack as guests of honor, a very hearty Chinese feast was enjoyed by all, particularly by the author.

So ends the tale, and be it further resolved that there should not be any further tea parties until other members of the Committee are back from their vacations.

cerned about Manchuria, where neither they nor the United States had any great economic interests.

The powers refused to co-operate immediately and the effect of the measure was lost. Neither would they follow the suggestion, made by the smaller states within the League of Nations, to apply sanctions against Japan.

When Tokyo realized that America was acting almost alone, it not only continued its use of force in China but accused the United States of interfering with what it considered a domestic affair. Without the backing of other countries Mr. Stimson's acts exerted only a moral pressure. The only actual step taken was to bring the American Navy to the Pacific for the duration of the crisis, which merely increased the general tension without changing Japan's attitude.

Although there was considerable unofficial opinion in America in favor of an economic boycott of Japan—led by such figures as Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University and Newton D. Baker—the general public and Congress did not seem to share this view. They thought that a stronger policy might lead to war.

There were actually two bills before Congress at the time which would have authorized the President to prohibit the shipment of arms and munitions to states that had violated treaties, but these were not seriously considered.

Today the Japanese armies are again fighting in China in disregard of the Nine Power Pact, and another puppet state has been formed in Central China under Wang Ching-wei, a former Chinese Premier. Vital commercial interests, particularly those of Great Britain, are being interfered with more and more. All affected powers have at times made diplomatic protests. Now that Britain has mollified its stand, the United States is left somewhat alone after abrogating the Trade Treaty of 1911 and threatening economic reprisals.

There are many observers who believe that if all nations were to follow Secretary of State Cordell Hull's lead, then Japan would have to modify its actions, as it might have had to do in 1932 if all states had declared themselves without hesitation in favor of non-recognition. The League did later pass a resolution similar to the nonrecognition doctrine. But this had little effect because it had not come at the crucial moment. There is also serious doubt about the ability of unaided nonrecognition to check a determined aggressor.

### Moral Embargo

Though much public opinion in the United States appears in favor of more drastic action and though a moral embargo on the sale of bombing planes has already been applied, Secretary Hull is opposed for the present to the embargo proposals before Congress. He feels that



he has gone as far as he can without endangering peace. By merely holding the threat of economic sanctions over the heads of the Japanese, Mr. Hull hopes to induce them to guarantee American rights and the maintenance of the Open Door in China.

A comparison of the measures undertaken by Secretaries Stimson and Hull in regard to Japan would seem to show that as yet Mr. Hull has not done anything much more drastic than his predecessor. However, the abrogation of the trade treaty has carried American policy a definite step farther. Mr. Hull has shown the Japanese that the United States is in earnest about its rights in China, and he has opened the way for an embargo as a possible step in American foreign policy if the rights of others continue to be endangered by Japan.

It remains to be seen whether the independent action of the United States will have more effect today than it did in 1932.—*Christian Science Monitor*.

### NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

JAPAN'S PUPPETS ON THE CHINESE STAGE. Shanghai: American Information Committee, 1940. Pamphlet.

THE CHINESE STUDENT, Jan-Feb. Published by the Midwestern students at St. Louis, Mo. Mimeographed.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE FAR EAST, 1939. Compilation of all press releases by the State Department. New York, 1940.

DOCUMENTS OF THE NANKING SAFETY ZONE, edited by Shuhsi Hsu. Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai, 1939.

JAPAN AND SHANGHAI, by Shuhsi Hsu. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd.

THREE WEEKS OF CANTON BOMBING, by Shuhsi Hsu, pp. 148. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd.

A DIGEST OF JAPANESE WAR CONDUCT, by Shuhsi Hsu, pp. 102. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd.

*Facts and Figures Concerning the Far Eastern Situation* is a 48-page handbook, edited by Dr. Mousheng Hsi-tien Lin, and published by China Institute in America, 119 West 57th Street, New York City. The book contains concise summaries of significant data and documents concerning the Sino-Japanese conflict. It is divided into eight chapters: War Aims and Peace Terms, An Outline of the Military Operations, Financial and Economic Conditions, Political Trends and Developments, The Puppet Regimes, The League of Nations and the Brussels Conference, The United States and the Far East, Europe and the Far East. The price is 25 cents per copy.

Donald C. McCade, of Morris Plains, N. J., who was appointed last year to the faculty of Yale-in-China, will sail for China from San Francisco on July 12.

## HOW THE WORLD WARS AFFECT ME AS A FOREIGN STUDENT IN AMERICA

By AI-LI SUNG

With wars going on in Asia and Europe, nobody at all conscious of world events can feel secure and content. Everyone is affected by the conflicts, directly or indirectly.

As a student from China, I share with the rest of the foreign students a feeling of insecurity. Communication and support from our homeland may be cut off any day, and destruction can be carried out to the remotest corner of the earth at a moment's notice. The demand for foreign scholarships has increased from the inflow of refugee students from all countries, and relief funds of all sorts request our attention. These and other problems form a part of the life of any conscientious student.

But this is only one side of the picture. Americans often say to me, "Aren't you glad you are not in China right now?" I want to answer "no," but I usually answer "yes". "Yes", not because I am safe from the dangers of war, but because I have the good fortune to be part of a great movement.

This movement is young but powerful, intangible yet everlasting. In America, students of different nationalities are given a chance to face each other as human beings, and not as enemies. Through the effort of internationally minded American citizens and organizations, a friendly atmosphere is created for people of all nationalities and races.

As the fighting spreads and intensifies, we as foreign students become more and more conscious of the burden put on young people of this generation to come to an understanding individually. The bonds of friendship transcend national frontiers and the deadliest of warfares. Let the young people preserve the "last flower"!

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

*The following communication was received from a farm boy in the Middle West, James G. Weber, who wrote: "Hope you will be able to use these two original articles which I am submitting for your approval. I shall continue my humble efforts to help popularize the boycott and advocate the use of the embargo against Japan."*

Dear Editor:

Frequently since the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese conflict the question has been raised—should the United States boycott Japanese goods? Advocated by many prominent citizens and endorsed by various peace, labor, and student groups, a well established boycott move-

ment has already gotten underway. Opposition has come chiefly from pro-Japanese groups and sympathizers, merchants who have in stock huge quantities of Japanese merchandise, certain periodicals having large circulation in Japan, silkworkers who contend that a general boycott of silken goods might deprive them of their livelihood, and also from extreme pacifists who fear that such an economic measure might lead to war.

Supporters of the movement answer these anti-boycott arguments as follows:

1. Will the boycott hurt American business? In the sum, no, since our trade with Japan is not large. It will reduce Japan's purchase of munitions, which is highly desirable, but will result in increased sales of American made substitutes for the imported merchandise. We need have no fear of a boycott boomerang for any attempt at counter boycott would automatically become a virtual embargo.

2. Will it hurt American labor? No, silk is the only raw material imported from Japan. Some silk can be obtained from Mexico and Italy, hence, the silk boycott need only last just long enough to convince our silk manufacturers that they had better purchase their raw silk elsewhere. Just as soon as our factories begin placing orders with firms in other silk producing countries, the silk boycott can be abandoned. Furthermore, most of our spinning and weaving machinery can be adjusted to make non-silk goods within a few days, and as the demand for silk decreases, the demand for its substitutes—linen and rayon increases, leaving consumption and employment the same.

3. Will it hurt the Japanese people? On the contrary the boycott is a Godsend to the masses of Japanese who are being cruelly bled by their fascist, military clique in order to carry on the war. It will relieve them of this burden by bringing the war to a quicker end.

4. Will it involve us in war? Definitely not, because Japanese militarism is not strong enough to carry on further aggression before it controls the resources and manpower of China. Japan is too busy in China to invite trouble with any other power now, but if we continue to purchase Japanese goods, we will buy China for Japan and make possible an eventual attack upon ourselves.

5. Will it be successful? If every peace loving American lends his wholehearted support, the answer is unquestionably, yes. In every civilized country, people are refusing to buy Japanese goods. This is made evident by the fact that Japan's exports to foreign countries have fallen off considerably during the past year. No nation can fight without oil, steel and numerous other war materials, which Japan must buy on the world market. Without the necessary foreign money with which to purchase them she will be unable to continue her ruthless assault on China.

—James G. Weber.

James A. Elliot, of Greene, N. Y., a senior of Yale College, has been appointed to the faculty of Yale-in-China which maintains a school in Yuanling, Hunan Province.



## Chungking Y.M.C.A. Intensifies Activity

The Chungking Y.M.C.A. has become since the outbreak of the war one of the most important organs for home-front spiritual mobilization. In addition to its host of peace time activities, it has assumed many new undertakings as a result of wartime need.

In Chungking proper, the association is very active in publicity as well as the different phases of "comfort" work. The Chungking "Y" has, since the beginning of the hostilities, published more than 14 different kinds of "National Crisis Handbooks." This series includes a collection of poems which is now in its third reprintings, three war plays, a collection of patriotic songs, and a number of common sense pamphlets on first aid, air defence, war publicity, and war stories. A number of billboards encircle the association's tennis court on which is pasted Shungking's largest wall-newspaper, 30 yards of regular newsprint, with editorial, war news, foreign dispatches, and on-the-record utterances of the nation's leading figures. The hundreds of people milling through the gate of the Chungking "Y" compound cannot fail to notice this big wall-newspaper.

Student members and various junior groups of the association are responsible for street-corner lectures, singing, and dramatic performances. Being mostly Szechwan people, these group members make good use of Szechwan folksongs and folklore in enlightening the public on the present war situation. Every Sunday sees these young men working in villages and towns near Chungking, and it is estimated that more than 300,000 people have heard them talk and sing.

A total of 20,000 clothes was gathered by the association during the winter garment campaign under the auspices of the New Life Movement last winter. It also collected 3,871 under-garments in 1938 for the wounded soldiers recuperating in the different base hospitals.

Cooperating with the Chungking Red Cross Society, the association now has three medical units, composed of 80 staff members, working in Kiangsi Province. These units now take care of five hospitals and serve more than 1,000 wounded soldiers each day.

The association maintains a free ward and a children's clinic as part of its medical service. The ward, with 100 beds, is situated in the association's old compound near the bank of the Yangtze. One fourth of its beds are reserved for those who are wounded by Japanese bombs, and the rest for ordinary patients. Sick war orphans now interned in the various war orphanages in and around Chungking are sent to the "Y" ward for treatment because of its good location and efficient and free service. This clinic, which is financed by the Chungking "Y's" Men Club, concerns itself mainly with health and the local children. It gave 15,000 anti-epidemic injections to Chungking school children in the spring of 1938, and is doing this work again this year. Besides treating cases of sick children, it also looks after the well-being of expectant mothers.

The association, cooperating with the Chinese Vocational Education Association

formerly in Shanghai, also operates an employment agency to help the unemployed in their search for work. More than 2,000 persons were thus benefitted. And thousands have registered themselves with the agency. This service is entirely free, all expenses being met by the two associations.

Aside from these activities which have been started since the war, the association pays equal attention to its many "peace-time enterprises." One of its best-known and most welcome services is the rural service station at Yiantse, an outskirt village of Chungking. The association maintains there a complete elementary school for nearby village children at which more than 300 boys and girls receive a free education each year. Lantern slide lectures are given to the village people from time to time on health, mass education, and the war situation.

The station maintains a boatmen's school for the large number of Chungking boatmen coming-and-going up and down the river. These ship-hands, whose boats are anchored off the Chungking river-banks, register themselves with the school upon arrival and make known the length of their intended stay. The school then plans a special course for the hands of each particular boat in accordance with the length of its stay. This school is free of charge. Chungking boatmen always come back to their classes, sometimes with their friends, whenever their boats return to port.

The association also maintains contact with more than 50 factories, large and small, in and around Chungking to serve their workers. During the first ten months of 1938, the association gave 74 public lectures and showed motion pictures to audiences totalling more than 39,600 workmen. In the period under review it made a total of 885 visits to various factories. During these visits, 487 people were given medical treatment, and 3,725 workmen were vaccinated. It also organized a life in-

### ESSAY CONTEST

For all Chinese Students in America

1. Prizes: First prize—\$50.  
Second and third prizes will depend on the merit of the essays and the number of contestants.
2. Subject: "We Chinese Students can do little for China now; our work lies in the future." Defend affirmative or negative.
3. Length of Essay: Not more than 1,500 words, in English.
4. Date limit: June 1, 1940.
5. Judges: Messrs. Chih Meng, Ralph Scitt, and Arthur Young.
6. Criterion of Judgment: Essays will be judged for the ideas expressed rather than for excellence of English.

urance group which assures the family of each member who pays 50 cents, a benefit of \$50 in the event of his death.

The association has a public library in its compound which contains several thousand books and magazines. A daily average of 1,000 people come to the library to read books and newspapers and more than 2,300 books are borrowed from the library by the public to read in their homes. A movable book-case, installed on a bicycle, is also sent by the library to tour Chungking streets for those who cannot go to the library themselves. An average of 150 persons are benefited by this circular system every week.

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APRIL 15, 1940

*"The storm center of the world has shifted to China. Whoever understands that mighty Empire—socially, politically, economically, religiously—has the key to world politics for the next five centuries."*

—JOHN HAY, U.S. Secretary of State,  
enunciator of the Open Door Policy

## FOREWORD

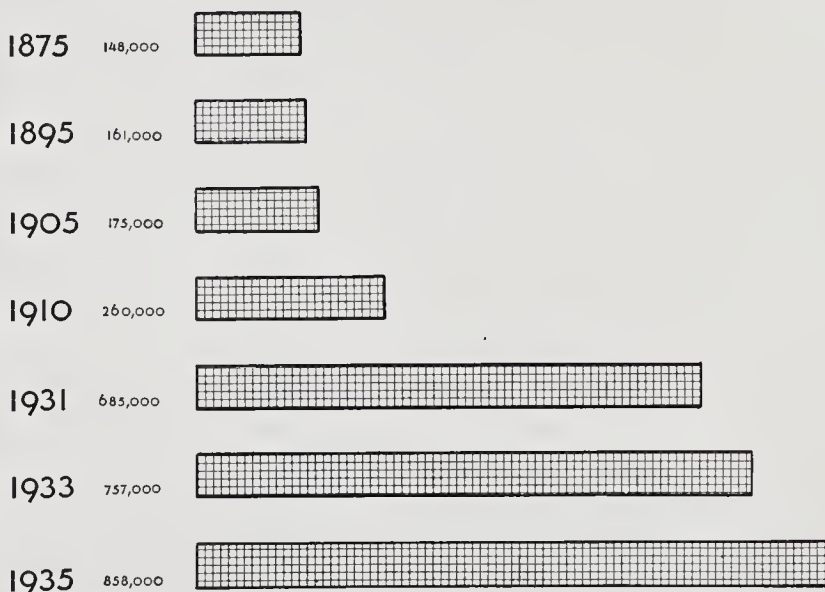
1940 is a year of crisis in the Pacific. The independence of China is at stake. The struggle for political dominance among the billion awakening people of Asia—half the world's population—is approaching a decisive stage. The outcome will determine whether there shall be one ascendant and prevailing militaristic power, or a balance of power, in Asia and the Western Pacific. The security of rich and strategic islands, with their supply of raw materials essential to the United States, is involved. The developing crisis of this year will profoundly affect the future security and well-being of all nations that border the Pacific.

In the evenly matched conflict now raging across fifteen hundred miles in China, a decisive role will be played by the United States of America. It is inescapable. For if we "do nothing," our great economic resources and strength will continue, as now, overwhelmingly on the side of Japan. If we withdraw that aid, China will almost certainly emerge a free nation. America holds the balance in the Pacific today. After careful consideration of all factors, a choice must be made. What will it be?



# HOW JAPAN'S "CONTROLLED AREA" HAS EXPANDED

SQUARE MILES



## JAPAN: SOME LANDMARKS

- 1894-5 Fights China
- 1904-5 Fights Russia
- 1910 Annexes Korea
- 1915 Serves Twenty-One Demands on China
- 1919 Acquires Southern Pacific Mandates
- 1922 Signs Nine Power Treaty agreeing to respect China's integrity
- 1928 Signs Kellogg-Briand Pact
- 1931 Invades Manchuria
- 1932 Makes first attack on Shanghai
- 1933 Annexes Jehol
- 1935 Annexes southern Chahar
- 1936 Invades Suiyuan
- 1937 Begins major war at Marco Polo Bridge
- Occupies Tientsin, Peking, Shanghai, Nanking
- 1938 Occupies Canton, Hankow
- 1939 Occupies Hainan, Spratly Islands
- Faces denunciation of U. S.-Japanese commercial treaty
- Meets military reverse at Changsha
- 1940 Attempts to induct puppet government for China

## THE STORY OF JAPANESE EXPANSION

For forty-five years Japan has been following an opportunistic policy of expansion by force. Before 1937, the area under her control had grown from 147,000 to 858,000 square miles. It is as if an Atlantic power the size of Montana were gradually to conquer the West Indies, New England, the Middle Atlantic States, all territory westward to the Mississippi, and North and South Carolina. Roughly 60,000,000 alien people were thus brought under the domination of Japan's military leaders.

The steps in this expansion are well known. War with China in 1894-5 gave Japan control, southward, of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands; it also led to the "independence" of Korea.

War with Russia in 1904-5 extended her sway northward to the lower half of Sakhalin Island, and to a leasehold on the Kwantung peninsula in Manchuria. Korea was formally annexed in 1910.

In 1915, with Europe at war, Japan served upon China the now famous Twenty-One Demands which, if accepted, would have undermined Chinese sovereignty. The more flagrant of these Demands were rejected, due in part to strong protest from the United States. Japan's strategic position in the Pacific, however, was notably enhanced, after the World War, by the award to her, as a mandate, of former German dependencies in the South Pacific—the Caroline, Marianas, Marshall, and Palau Islands. The Japanese now regard these islands as part of the "Empire."

In 1929 the celebrated Tanaka Memorandum to the Emperor was published. Although this document was repudiated by the Japanese Government, the faithfulness with which subsequent invasions have followed its text lends validity to the presumption of its authenticity.

The rich and vast territory of Manchuria was invaded in 1931. Despite world-wide condemnation, this conquest was extended, in 1933, to include the strategically important province, Jehol; in 1935, Chahar was likewise invaded, and in 1936, Suiyuan.

Still the appetite for power of Japan's military caste showed no signs of being appeased. And in 1937, the greatest adventure of all was undertaken: the conquest of China—with an area roughly equivalent to that of the United States, and a population more than three times as large.





## THE INVASION OF CHINA


The invasion was well timed. European powers were absorbed with the perils of the Spanish conflict. America seemed safely removed, with a new neutrality law. China, meanwhile, was developing steadily in every aspect of national life. Japan's military leaders decided that the moment had come to begin their most far-reaching and ambitious venture. It was then or never!


Many of Japan's civilian leaders regarded such a course with grave apprehension. On March 1, 1937, Mr. Seiji Yoshida, Chairman of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Shanghai, reported, "China's political and economic progress in recent years has been rapid, and the Chinese people have been earnest in working out their destiny", and he stated that the present was an opportune moment to "rectify" the erroneous China policy hitherto employed. He saw the possibilities of friendly economic cooperation between Japan and China. But Japan's militarists, witnessing the growing unity and strength of China, saw otherwise.

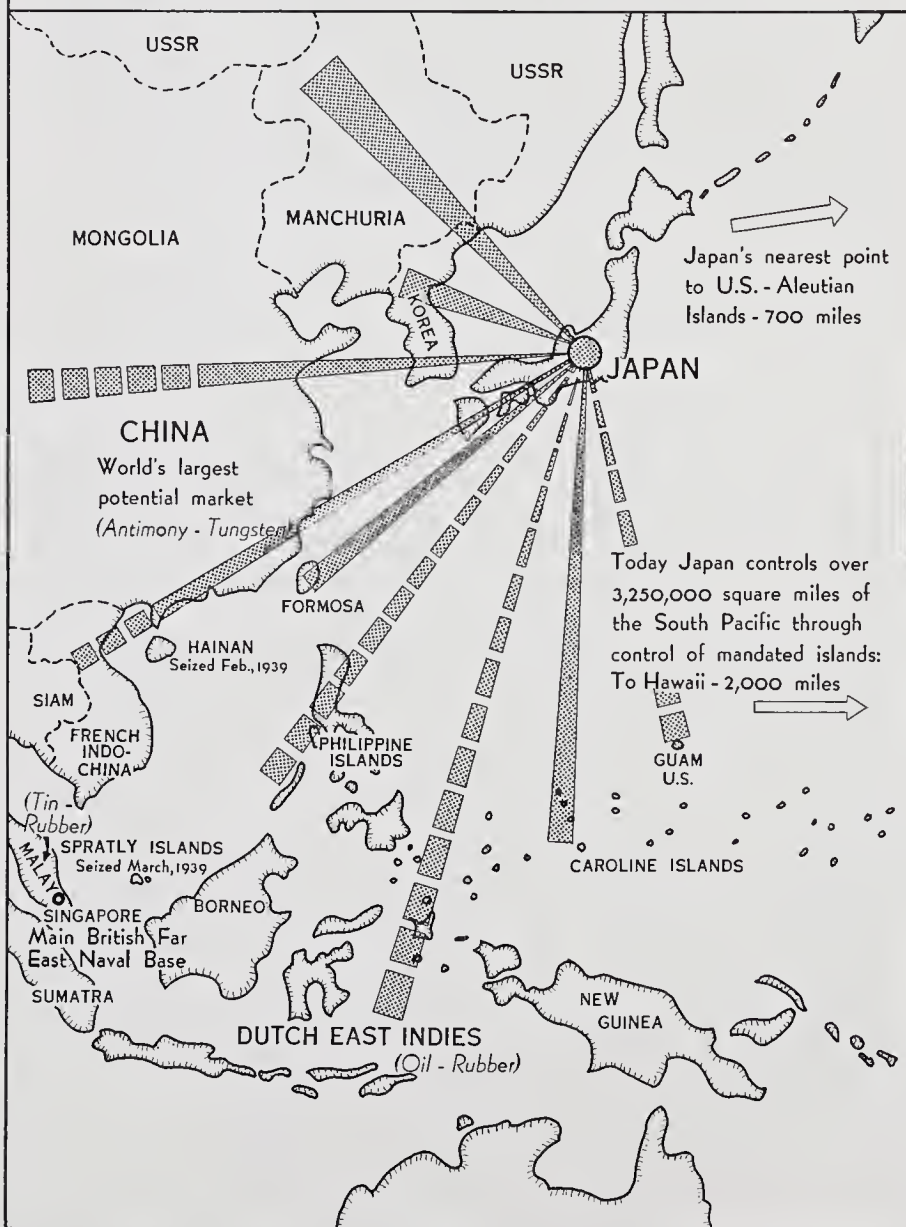
The invasion of China proper began, near Peking, with the Lukouchiao incident of July 7, 1937. On August 13, fighting broke out in Shanghai. After two and one-half years of conflict, China's defense is still vigorous. Although Japan is employing a million men in the struggle, her problems have multiplied. Lengthening lines have increased the difficulties of supply. Ruthless treatment of the civilian populace has only stiffened the Chinese will to resist at any cost. Guerrilla tactics on the part of the Chinese have finally brought the Japanese military machine to a virtual standstill. And economic strains upon the home economy are steadily mounting.

Yet the situation remains extremely dangerous from China's standpoint. Japanese troops now control practically her entire coast, most of her railway lines, the Yangtze River as far as Hankow, and most of her larger cities. Forty million civilians have been driven from their homes into the greatest war migration in history. Resistance to economic penetration in "conquered" areas is increasingly difficult. There is a limit to human endurance, and Japan, fortified by American economic assistance, which is probably greater than Germany can expect from Russia, may yet succeed in producing, all over China, the chaos that now exists where Japanese armies have penetrated.

# JAPAN'S AIMS IN THE ORIENT

 NOW CONTROLS

 DESIRES CONTROL



## JAPAN'S OBJECTIVE: A VAST MILITARY EMPIRE

What underlying force has given Japanese expansion such consistency and dogged perseverance in the face of mounting obstacles abroad and deprivations at home? It is more than economic necessity, for Japan's real economic problems could far better have been solved by a policy of cooperation and trade with China and the West. It is more than a mere "dream of Empire".

To understand Japanese military mentality today, it is necessary to glance back into centuries of feudalism. Each warlord had then his following of *samurai*, or warriors, whom he placed in a class above all others, with power even of life and death over the artisans and peasants of the lord's estate. Among these *samurai* was cultivated a code of honor involving utter loyalty to the lord and scorn of hardship. Developed also was a passionate belief in the Emperor as a direct descendant of the Goddess of Heaven, whose line was destined to rule the world, and in the Japanese people as a heaven-sent race above the rest of mankind. The standards and beliefs of the *samurai* permeated the mass of the people.

Only recently has Japan emerged from military feudalism. There has come quick industrialization along some lines. There has been a rapid adoption of modern military implements and methods. But there has been no real liberal movement in Japan, no elevation and freeing of the individual. The hold of military leaders over all classes, and over every channel of education and information has remained dominant. The people—pleasant, courteous, beauty-loving—are still, for the most part, in mental thralldom to the Emperor and to those who work for his "Manifest Destiny".

Modern warlords and *samurai* direct Japan's course today. They are hard-headed, calculating, and determined. Their ambitions are well known: the conquest and domination of China, and the elimination of Western influence there; through use of China's untapped resources and huge manpower, the building up of immense and unassailable military and economic strength; expanding control of the Western and Southern Pacific; an increasing invasion of world markets with low-priced manufactures; and finally, the rise of Japan to world dominance.

Japanese who possess the wisdom and courage to question this program are not yet strong enough to challenge it.



## SOME JAPANESE STATEMENTS

In 1592, Hideyoshi enunciated a plan for the conquest of Korea, Manchuria, and China. This pattern of empire has been preserved and embellished during subsequent centuries. Following are a few among many utterances during modern times:

"All through the twenty-six-century story of Nippon, a miracle has never failed to come to pass—the miracle of national unity unknown to the annals of the West. There is just one key that explains this miracle: His Majesty The Tenno. His . . . magic power . . . can instantly unite 70,000,000 Japanese into one solid force . . . which can strike as they are striking along the North China and Yangtze fronts today. . . ." (Y. MATSUOKA, *Pres., S. Manchuria Railway, January 1939*)

"We firmly believe we are destined to expand in the light of our proud history and our religious loyalty to the throne. It is this national faith in our destiny which brought on the Sino-Japanese War and, later, the Russo-Japanese War." (S. TAKAISHI, *Director, Tokyo Nichi-Nichi, and Osaka Mainichi, 1939*)

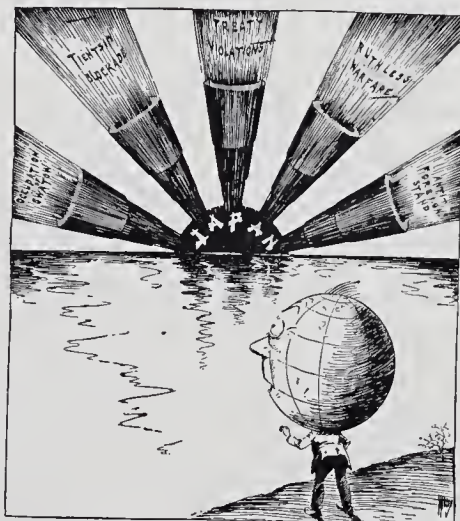
"In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will fear us and surrender to us." (*Tanaka Memorandum, 1929*)

"We will never give up an inch of the territories already occupied." (PREMIER F. KONOYE, *March 1938*)

"Japan does not want an inch of Chinese territory." (PREMIER F. KONOYE, *July 1938*)

"We must maintain large forces in China even after the destruction of Chiang Kai-shek's regime." (MAJOR C. KATO, *Japanese War Office, February 1940*)

"It is, obviously, necessary to tighten our economic relations . . . in the South Seas. . . . We have no territorial ambitions, but only desire to utilize and exploit the natural resources there." (*Foreign Minister H. ARITA, February 1940*)



*Courtesy of The New York Times*

"An' the dawn comes up like thunder  
outer China 'crost the bay!"—Kipling

## A CENTURY OF AMERICAN POLICY

A hundred years ago, European influence and power were extending around the world to eastern Asia, and Americans were beginning to look across the Pacific. Merchants of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States were seeking ever-widening markets for products of the Industrial Revolution. Asia, especially China, offered a rich prize, made more accessible by the advent of ocean steamships.

Great Britain signed the first treaty with China in 1842. Other nations, including the United States, quickly followed. "Treaty ports" were opened in China and Japan, sometimes by force or by a show of force. A system of external controls began to develop, including conventional tariffs, concessions, extraterritoriality, and the stationing of defense forces. Japan, smaller and more unified, promptly resisted these limitations of her sovereignty and began to adopt Western industrial and military techniques, but China, vast and decentralized in villages and families, became a semi-colonial nation.

While America benefited from these arrangements, it can be truthfully said that her influence was consistently on the side of restraint, and of friendship for China. In 1858, a new treaty with China provided that "if any other nation should act unjustly or oppressively, the United States will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement of the question, thus showing their friendly feeling".

The struggle for "spheres of influence" in China—with Japan and Russia now actively participating—became more intense toward the end of the century. There was talk of "partitioning" China, and the Boxer rebellion broke loose. It was at this time, in 1900, that John Hay, U.S. Secretary of State, took the lead in enunciating the "Open Door" doctrine, providing that all nations should have equal opportunity in trade with China—a farsighted move which preserved China's independence and perhaps averted a first world war.

When Japan, with Europe at war in 1915, submitted her far-reaching Twenty-One Demands to China, the United States refused to recognize any agreement or undertaking which impaired the political or territorial integrity of China, or the "Open Door" policy.

When the United States went to war with Germany in 1917, the American Government invited China to follow suit. Relying upon America's friendship, she abandoned her careful neutrality and joined the Allies.

## STATEMENTS OF AMERICA'S POSITION

"The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace in China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." (JOHN HAY, *U. S. Secretary of State*, July 1900)

"The American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto*, nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the Open Door Policy. . . ." (AMERICAN NOTE, *January 1932*)

"The Nine Power Treaty represents a carefully developed and matured international policy intended, on the one hand, to assure to all of the contracting parties their rights and interests in and with regard to China, and on the other hand, to assure to the people of China the fullest opportunity to develop without molestation their sovereignty and independence. . . ." (H. L. STIMSON, *U. S. Secretary of State*, in letter to Senator Borah, February 1932)

"In the light of unfolding developments in the Far East, the Government of the United States has been forced to the conclusion that the action of Japan in China is inconsistent with the principles which should govern the relationships between nations, and is contrary to the provisions of the Nine Power Treaty of February 6, 1922, regarding principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China, and to those of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of August 27, 1928." (CORDELL HULL, *U. S. Secretary of State*, October 1937)

"In short, the American people, from all the thoroughly reliable evidence that comes to them, have good reason to believe that an effort is being made to establish control, in Japan's own interest, of large areas on the continent of Asia, and to impose upon those areas a system of closed economy. It is this thought, added to the effect of the bombings, the indignities, and the manifold interference with American rights, that accounts for the attitude of the American people toward Japan today." (JOSEPH C. GREW, *U. S. Ambassador to Japan*, October 1939)



## A CENTURY OF AMERICAN POLICY (*continued*)

When China declared war against Germany, the American Minister, Paul S. Reinsch, sent the following message to the Chinese Foreign Office: "My government is pleased to take this opportunity to give to the Chinese government the assurance of its solidarity, of its friendship, of its support. It will do all that depends upon it in order that China may have the benefit in her international relations of the situation and the regards due to a great country." Despite this positive assurance, President Wilson was constrained to compromise with Japan, and with allies who had made secret agreements with her, in order to secure their consent to the League of Nations. At the Versailles Conference part of Shantung province which had been leased to Germany, and which had been seized by Japan when she declared war on Germany, was not restored to China but given to Japan. The compromise was unsatisfactory and impermanent.

Possibly because of an uneasy feeling that we had misled China, our Government initiated at the Washington Conference on Naval Limitation discussions which dealt with the Far Eastern situation. The result was the Nine Power Treaty which gave legal form and added significance to the doctrine of the Open Door, with clauses safeguarding China's sovereignty.

Under protection of this treaty, China began to set her house in order, and enjoyed a decade free from foreign molestation. After an initial period of upheaval, Chiang Kai-shek came into power and gathered around him, in 1927, as the dominant leaders in Chinese life, a group of younger men largely trained in American institutions and imbued with American ideals. China began to make extraordinary progress in every aspect of national reconstruction.

When Japan initiated her invasion of Manchuria, the American Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, on January 7, 1932, formally stated that the American Government "cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto* . . . which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the Open Door Policy."

Thus the United States has, during the last century, followed in the main a policy of justice and friendship for China, with the conviction that the independence of that nation is indispensable to an enduring peace in the Orient, and to security for this hemisphere.

## THE NINE POWER TREATY

Treaty between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, Signed at Washington, February 6, 1922.

### ARTICLE I.

The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree:

(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;

(2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;

(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;

(4) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

### ARTICLE II.

The Contracting Powers agree not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement, or understanding, either with one another, or, individually or collectively, with any Power or Powers, which would infringe or impair the principles stated in Article I.

### ARTICLE III.

With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the Contracting Powers, other than China, agree that they will not seek, nor support their respective nationals in seeking—

(a) any arrangement which might purport to establish in favour of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China;

(b) any such monopoly or preference as would deprive the nationals of any other Power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, or of participating with the Chinese Government, or with any local authority, in any category or public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity. . . . .

## **CORNERSTONE OF AMERICAN POLICY: THE NINE POWER TREATY**

The clearest statement of American policy in the Pacific is contained in the Nine Power Treaty, signed at Washington on February 6, 1922, by both the United States and Japan. It has been called, by Henry L. Stimson, "one of the most admirable and far-sighted treaties in the history of modern civilization". Prominent in the negotiations, on behalf of the United States, were Charles Evans Hughes, Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., and Oscar W. Underwood. For Japan, Baron K. Shidehara showed high qualities of statesmanship.

The Nine Power Treaty furnished a new legal foundation for international relations in the Pacific area. Its most important provisions are contained in Article I, reproduced on the opposite page. Here we find reaffirmed, in unmistakable terms, the obligation of every signatory to respect the independence of China. This was recognized as right in itself, and also as a necessary condition for maintenance of the "Open Door" principle. There was nothing to hinder Japan from benefiting by natural geographical propinquity to China's purchasable resources and developing markets, or by her own ability to manufacture inexpensive commodities for sale throughout Asia.

Time has vindicated the wisdom of the statesmen who wrought this Treaty. Implicit in their calculations was faith in the ability of the Chinese to work out their problems of internal stability and external cooperation. This faith was well justified during the fifteen years that followed. It is now clear that without the assurance of China's independence, it is impossible to prevent the disastrous intensification of political and commercial rivalries there. And it becomes increasingly clear that only with an independent and developing China can there be maintained peace and stability in Asia, and security for all nations that border the Pacific. It is not by the timid abandonment of these principles and truths, but by their clear and effective reaffirmation, that the United States can take its responsible part in the restoration of peace.



'So Sorry' Won't Do



*Courtesy of the Oregon Journal*

## **JAPAN SEEKS A "NEW ORDER" BY VIOLENCE**

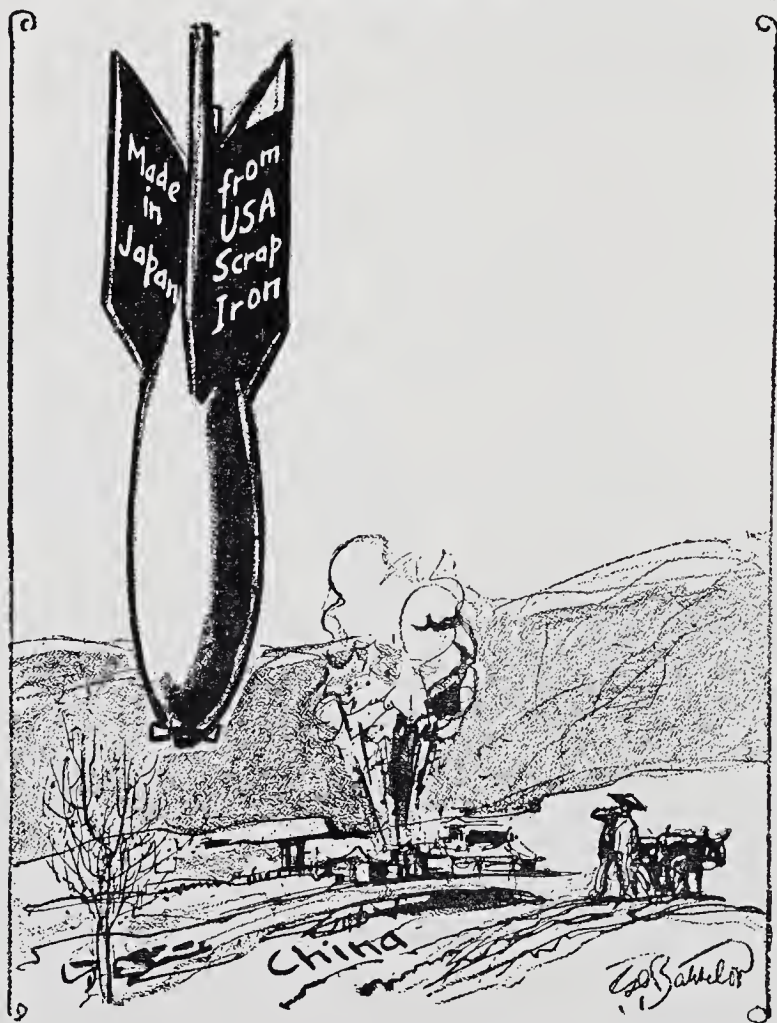
For a decade after the Washington Conference and the signing of the Nine Power Treaty, international cooperation and friendly trade developed in the Pacific area. Then suddenly, in 1931, Japan launched her assault upon Manchuria. By this action, she upset the whole post-war peace structure and initiated a world-wide chain of aggression which has continued to the present time. Defying world-wide condemnation, Japan has since continued and extended, in open violation of international agreements, her program of ruthless conquest.

The result has been termed the "New Disorder" in Eastern Asia. Admiral H. E. Yarnell, Commander-in-Chief, until his recent retirement, of the U. S. Asiatic Fleet, has said: "It is estimated that 40,000,000 Chinese have been driven from their homes to far distant areas, and of this number, from 5 to 10,000,000 have died of disease and privation. Cities far distant from the battle areas have been bombed and hundreds of thousands of non-combatants have been killed and wounded. The 'Rules for the Conduct of War' approved at The Hague many years ago, which provided for humane treatment of prisoners and non-combatants, have been discarded. . . . Inhumane and barbarous conduct against prisoners and non-combatants can be strictly controlled in any disciplined army, and the manner in which this war has been waged has profoundly shocked the civilized world."

Less apparent, but no less significant, have been the methods by which the invaders have sought to obtain control over the economic life of the Chinese people in "conquered" areas. Techniques developed in Formosa, Korea, and Manchuria are applied with a practiced hand. They involve a wresting of control and ownership of the means of production from the Chinese themselves, and the reducing of the entire population to a condition of dependence and serfdom. Absent are the features of any "enlightened" colonial policy; exploitation is direct and ruthless, with no compensating rise in the well-being of the conquered. Famine and desperate poverty are widespread. Schools are closed. Narcotics are systematically used both for revenue and demoralization. Every sign of opposition invites fearful retribution upon the civilian population. These facts are attested by many reliable American witnesses.

The prolonging of such oppression can only breed violent revolutionary forces in the most populous nation on earth. The irony of it all is that it could not go on without the extensive help which Japan receives steadily from "the land of the free, and the home of the brave."

## SPRING PLOWING



*Courtesy of the News, New York's Picture Newspaper*



## **JAPAN'S ARMY IN CHINA'S MORASS**

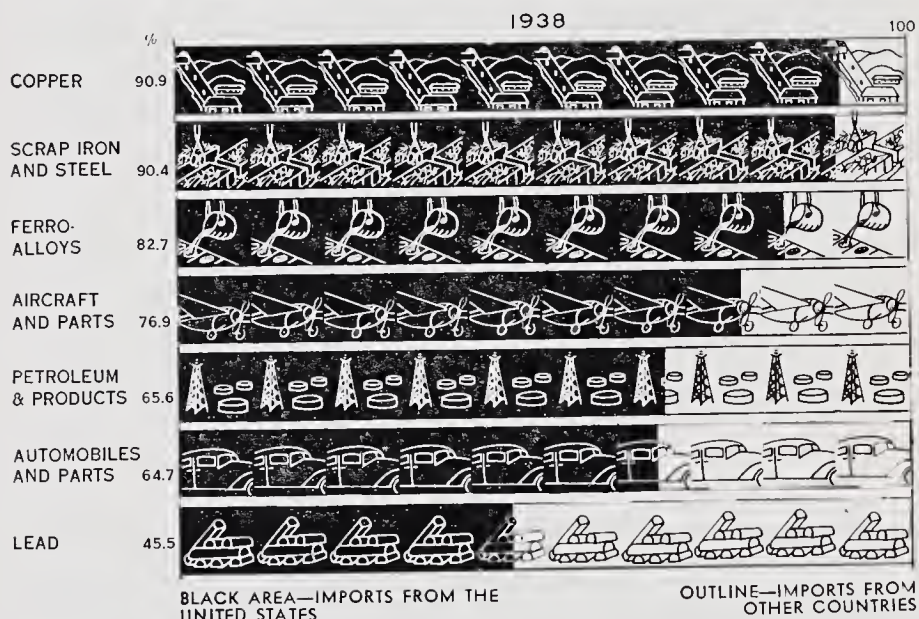
The first fifteen months of Japan's invasion of China were marked by spectacular victories. Despite stubborn and courageous resistance, the superior equipment and training of Japan's military forces enabled them to conquer most of China's coast and to penetrate along the important lines of communication. One by one, Tientsin, Peking, Shanghai, Nan-king, Canton, and Hankow fell into their hands.

But during the next sixteen months their difficulties mounted, and the military situation approached a stalemate, despite enormous suffering on the part of the Chinese people. Long lines of communication were constantly harassed by guerrilla bands. Military and political control of the countryside were frustrated in many areas. The economic fruits of victory were elusive. Attempts to enlist the cooperation of respected Chinese leaders proved abortive. And the enormous costs of war and occupation produced increasing strains upon the home economy, with consequent murmurings of discontent.

Economic and political strains increased in China also. But traditional local self-sufficiency proved an asset; adjustments were made after the loss of industrial cities; Chinese morale remained unimpaired. Subtle opposition and non-cooperation were practiced in "conquered" areas despite the terroristic methods employed by the conquerors. "Political education" among the people of "free China" advanced rapidly. Military strategy improved, with increased emphasis upon training and upon the use of decentralized, mobile units, elusive to frontal attack by forces with superior armaments.

These facts have led some observers to feel that it would be only a matter of time until Japan would have to withdraw her forces from China. But it must be remembered that much has been staked upon the China policy, and that the Japanese are capable of determination and sacrifice. It is certain that a tenacious effort will be made to consolidate control over what has been taken by force. Whether or not this attempt succeeds during 1940 may hinge largely upon the continued cooperation of American industry and trade.

# JAPAN'S TOTAL IMPORTS OF ESSENTIAL WAR SUPPLIES AND THE EXTENT OF HER DEPENDENCE UPON THE UNITED STATES



## UNITED STATES TRADE WITH JAPAN, 1928 AND 1939 (thousands of dollars)

ILLUSTRATING RISE IN WAR TRADE, FALL IN PEACE TRADE

### PRINCIPAL EXPORTS

	1928	1939
Total exports .....	258,548	231,405
Raw Cotton .....	109,399	42,488
Wood and manufactures .....	15,636	2,858
Grains and preparations .....	12,202	(a)
Potassic fertilizer materials .....	6,025	2,137
Tobacco and manufactures .....	4,953	(a)
Petroleum and products .....	21,717	45,290
Iron and steel scrap .....	3,090	32,593
Copper .....	2,358	27,567
Metal-working machinery, power-driven .....	862	24,578
Autos and parts .....	6,118	6,420

### PRINCIPAL IMPORTS

Total imports .....	431,873	161,196
Raw silk .....	356,122	106,936
Silk fabrics .....	8,686	1,989
Cotton manufactures .....	3,156	4,235
Tea .....	5,152	3,304
Crabmeat, sauce and paste .....	5,030	3,765
China and porcelain, earthen and stoneware .....	5,335	3,040
Furs, undressed .....	4,217	984

(a) Unlisted among Principal Exports

Source: United States Department of Commerce

## AMERICA HOLDS THE KEY

American sympathies favor China. By diplomatic pronouncements, we have condemned the lawlessness and inhumanity of Japan's assault upon the Chinese people. But our economic strength, which counts in war, has been overwhelmingly on the side of Japan. For nearly three years, we have furnished the bulk of Japan's military supplies from abroad—supplies which she cannot, for the most part, obtain at home. For nearly three years, also, we have allowed to Japan an unrestricted American market for the sale of her goods, thus enabling her to secure the funds necessary for the purchase of further war supplies. The outbreak of war in Europe, by cutting off other sources of materials and other markets, has greatly accentuated Japan's economic dependence upon this country.

It is mainly for this reason that America holds the key in the Pacific today. Detailed figures are not yet available, but by conservative estimate Japan is now obtaining at least three-fourths of her essential imports of war materials from the United States. Many of these materials she cannot get in anything approaching sufficient quantities from other countries. Take, for example, high-grade steel, copper, and ferro-alloys, scrap iron, automotive equipment, munitions machinery, machine tools, machine parts, high-grade gasoline and lubricating oils, and especially aviation fuel for which Japan is now almost wholly dependent upon this country. All of these materials are essential to the balanced ration which a modern military machine requires. Without them, the Japanese Juggernaut would soon begin to stall. The chief advantage over the Chinese forces—superior mechanization—would be rapidly impaired.

It is true that Japan has taken pains to accumulate reserves of some of these essential war materials. But it is also true that shortages would be acutely felt as soon as sources of supply were cut off; for to use up reserves which could not be replenished would make Japan completely vulnerable.

If the United States, therefore, should withhold from export her own resources now being used to inflict incalculable suffering and devastation in China, Japan's military position there would become increasingly untenable. She would soon have to seek a way out, involving abandonment of her far-reaching effort to subjugate the Chinese people.

Of equal importance, perhaps, is Japan's dependence upon the United States for foreign exchange. Her gold supply is approaching exhaustion. Only as she sells abroad can she buy materials to carry on the war.







# HOW JAPAN FINANCES WAR PURCHASES

In 1938

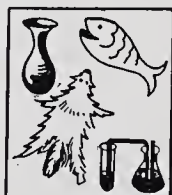
Japan exported to the U.S. \$131,820,000. Silk exports alone (\$83,651,000) furnished funds sufficient for the purchase of:







SILK EXPORTS  
\$83,750,000

	PIG IRON, IRON & STEEL SCRAP \$26,921,000
	COPPER \$22,146,000
	METAL WORKING MACH- INERY, POWER-DRIVEN \$23,614,000
	AIRCRAFT & PARTS \$11,069,000

The balance of Japan's exports to the U.S. -  
\$48,169,000 - practically paid for  
purchases of:



	CRUDE PETROLEUM \$29,956,000
	GASOLINE \$7,713,000
	LUBRICATING OIL \$2,614,000
	AUTOS, TRUCKS, PARTS, ETC. \$10,142,000

And her great market is the United States of America. A partial or complete ban upon imports from Japan would reduce radically her purchasing power in all foreign countries. This would immediately affect Japan's capacity to continue the conflict, for imports which do not directly contribute to the conduct of the war have already been largely eliminated. A substantial reduction in foreign exchange would mean drastic curtailment in Japan's imports of war supplies.

A further factor in the position of the United States is her possession of large capital resources. Two loans, on a commercial basis, have already been extended to China for use in the restoration and maintenance of her economic life. Such credits to a friendly nation are normal, especially when previous loans are not in default. (China has already paid back over \$2,200,000 of the first \$25,000,000 credit extended to her.) Their moral effect is, in this case, as important as the relatively small material benefit which they have conferred upon an economy under the severe strain of war.

Because other nations with influence in the Pacific are now absorbed in the European conflict, only the United States is left with the power of initiative. That power carries with it enormous responsibility. For American policy during 1940 may well determine whether there shall emerge, across the Pacific, a long period of chaos and violence, or a great militaristic Japanese Empire, or an independent, friendly China advancing toward democracy.

The ending of our crucial support to Japan's program of conquest would not only mark a turning point in the Far Eastern conflict; it would contribute to the first great reverse, after a tragic decade, to the expanding forces of lawlessness and aggression. Mr. Henry L. Stimson has pointed out that "the influence of such action by our government would transcend even the great crisis in Asia. Throughout the broken, warring world of today it would show that this nation recognizes its responsibility for making efforts toward the restoration of law and order, and that wherever its peaceful influence can effectively be thrown it will be thrown on the side of independence and freedom and against militarized aggression."

“The plea of a tortured conscience”



By special permission, Hutton © The Philadelphia Inquirer



## AMERICA'S MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

America is not responsible for policing the world. But she is responsible for her own conduct and influence in the world. Never was that responsibility greater than it is today.

Millions of Americans can think only with shame and dismay of American-motored aeroplanes, fueled with American gasoline, dropping American metals to be blown into the bodies of Chinese men, women, and children who have traditionally regarded America as their best friend. And there is mounting indignation at the thought that we, who love freedom, should furnish such decisive help for its destruction elsewhere, and for the expanding sway of tyrannous force in the world.

Those who counsel against any move to restrict our war trade with Japan apparently ignore the fact that we are today Japan's great armorer, furnishing roughly three-fourths of the "sinews of war" which she must have from abroad in order to continue the effort to "beat China to her knees". We are "involved" up to the hilt, on the side of Japan.

The United States and Japan are, at the same time, obligated by specific treaty to respect China's sovereignty and independence. Are we to continue giving extensive assistance for the overt violation of that pledge?

There are those who maintain that the United States should remain on friendly terms with Japan. Certainly every honorable effort should be made to do so. But does friendship necessitate complicity in crime? Does friendship with Japan mean that we must support with our resources the brutal attempt to subjugate China, also a friendly nation? Is it a requirement of friendship that we must give up the right to regulate our own conduct, and in doing so violate every humane and decent instinct?

There are those who fear that the stoppage of war supplies to Japan might lead her to war against us. They never explain how Japan, exhausted by nearly three years of warfare against China, and dependent upon the United States for supplies and markets in order to carry on that conflict, could possibly wage war against us, or what she would hope to gain from it except disaster. Certainly the risks involved would be much less than those of continuing to bolster Japanese aggression. Even if there are risks, will it be said that because of fear we continued to support Japanese militarism and the destruction of China?

If Japan's military leaders are offended by America's refusal any longer to condone their policies, it will be our task to convince them that our good will is not of a quality to be controlled by threats and bribes; that it does, at the same time, make us ready, and indeed eager, to help in the restoration of a just peace, and in the positive task of reconstruction that lies ahead for both China and Japan.



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## **A 1919 FORECAST**

On Oct. 15, 1919 the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, then senior Senator from Massachusetts, made the following statement in the United States Senate:

"Such has been the course of Japan, steady, relentless, aiming to get ultimate control of the vast population and great territory of China. As it has been in the past, so will it be in the future in regard to Shantung. Japan is steeped in German ideas and regards war as an industry because from war she has secured all the extensions of her empire. She is a power armed and trained, confronted by an unarmed and peaceful people. She means to exploit China and build herself up until she becomes a power formidable to all the world. It is not merely that she will close the markets of China and obtain enormous commercial and economic advantages. She will use ultimately the practically unlimited man power of China for military purposes just as Germany and Austria used in their armies the man power of the 26,000,000 Slavs who were utterly opposed to German domination, to promote their schemes of conquest. . . ."

## AMERICA'S STAKE: POLITICAL

It is not easy to appreciate the magnitude of the struggle taking place in Asia today, or to estimate its full significance even for our own country. But since we are playing an important, even a decisive, role in the conflict, it behooves us, from the standpoint of our own national security, to consider the possible consequences of our action or inaction.

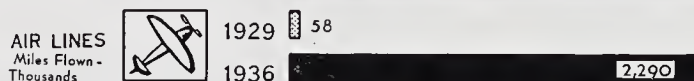
If we continue to support Japan with the war supplies which she needs, she may be able to prolong the struggle indefinitely, holding with superior equipment and mobility a large part of what she has won. This would mean a long period of chaos in China, with progressive impoverishment for both countries. Violent revolutionary forces, the products of oppression, would gain in force and dimensions.

If we continue to furnish our markets and resources to Japan, she may, with this help, be able to consolidate her present position in China, and to gather strength for the next move. Should Japan ultimately gain political and economic dominance in China, defending that hold with an increasingly powerful navy, her Empire would still be far from the military self-sufficiency dear to the hearts of totalitarian rulers. The security of the Philippine Islands, and of the East Indian regions from which we draw indispensable supplies of rubber and tin and other valuable products, would be endangered. The United States would face increasing problems in connection with South America, North Pacific fisheries, Hawaii and Panama defenses, and our own markets. Our naval appropriations would soar. War, and a very grave war, would then threaten.

If we continue to arm Japan, China, in desperation, might turn increasingly, albeit reluctantly, toward Russia as an only friend, accepting help on Russia's terms. Japan's invasion, if long continued, will only strengthen, and not weaken, the forces in that direction. Asia might then be swung into the orbit of European conflict and alignments, with unpredictable consequences.

If, on the other hand, our government musters the decision and courage to stop arming Japan, the scales will turn heavily in China's favor. This would tend to discredit Japan's military rulers at home. Even more important, it would make increasingly sure the emergence of an independent China, and the restoration of a far more stable balance of power in Asia. The world's greatest open market for freedom—China—would have been preserved. The democratic trend of that great nation could then continue, and its cooperation, as an active force, in the building of a saner, more secure, and more cooperative world would be ensured.

# CHINA'S PROGRESS BEFORE THE INVASION





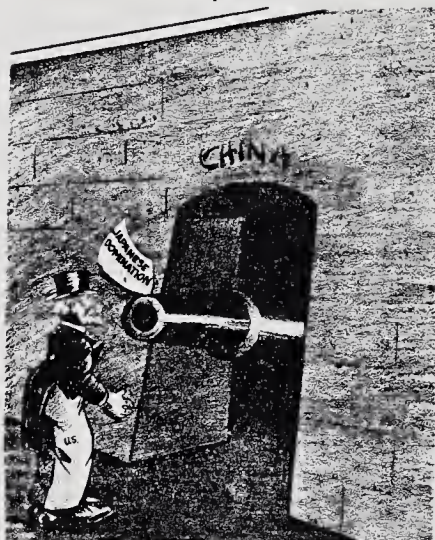
## AMERICA'S STAKE: ECONOMIC

Our export trade to Japan is increasingly of a destructive character. In 1939 more than 71 cents of every dollar's worth of materials purchased by Japan, and more than 90 cents of every dollar's worth bought by "Manchoukuo", went for war supplies. It was a bitter lesson of the World War that such a trade is unhealthy; that, instead of building prosperity and future purchasing power, it breeds depression. Valuable American resources are now entering into this transient and destructive trade. The immediate profits secured from this commerce are more than offset by losses in our peace-time trade with the Far East in raw cotton, industrial equipment, lumber, kerosene, paper, passenger automobiles, and the like. The longer the war continues, with American support, the greater the impoverishment and decline in purchasing power of both Japan and China, who have heretofore furnished us a trade comparable to that with all of South America combined. The best way to restore the prosperity and buying power of both nations is not by helping to prolong the war, but by helping to end it and to initiate a new era of reconstruction and healthy commerce in the Pacific area.

During the decade before 1937, China, despite the loss of Manchuria, her richest area, was making remarkable strides in every aspect of her national life. The present conflict has brought a new unity and a new awakening. The potentialities of trade, beneficial to every nation, with a free post-war China are incalculable. Thousands of miles of railway lines, tens of thousands of miles in new roads, tens or hundreds of thousands of automobiles, vessels for a coast-wise merchant marine, expansion of national airways and of communication systems, and the reestablishment of industries destroyed by the war and their extension throughout the interior provinces—all these are within the scope of probability once reconstruction in an independent, peaceful, and unified China gets under way. Such developments will contribute directly to the purchasing power of China's 400,000,000 and more people. This is the world's greatest potential market, wherein good will toward America is strong, from which we are now helping to exclude ourselves by supporting economically Japan's monopolistic aims. In doing so, we are helping also to set up a competitor that, through expropriation of resources and utilization of almost unlimited subsistence labor, may in time produce a mounting tide of cheap manufactures with which American industry, at American wage levels, could scarcely compete.

Furthermore, as we arm Japan with one hand, with the other we tax ourselves billions for naval armaments in defense against her. For each cent of profit, a dollar's loss! It hardly makes sense.

# *The Open Door*



*Courtesy of The Washington Post*

# **Embarrassments of Finger Pointing**



*Courtesy of The Christian Science Monitor*



*Courtesy of Lincoln Newspaper Features, Inc.*  
**Chinese Puzzle—American Style**



*Courtesy of The New York Times*  
**"Some Act"**

## SOME QUESTIONS

Thoughtful consideration of the problem of ending America's participation in Japanese aggression raises some further questions. The purpose of this section is not to deal with these questions exhaustively, but to suggest conclusions which seem reasonable, after careful study, in the light of recent history and of the facts now at our disposal.

*How much has already been accomplished toward stopping America's war trade with Japan?*

The "moral embargo" upon aeroplanes and equipment for the bombing of civilian populations has cut off less than 5 per cent of our total exports of essential war supplies to Japan. Denunciation of the commercial treaty with Japan cleared the way for further restrictions upon this trade. To date, however, Japan continues to enjoy practically full access to American supplies and markets.

*Can the "moral embargo" be extended to include other materials?*

It can be extended to other materials, such as aviation gasoline, employed in the bombing of civilian populations. It is questionable whether the State Department will wish to go further than this without legislative authorization.

*How much can be done through voluntary action on the part of manufacturers and merchants?*

A few firms have declined Japanese orders for war supplies rather than to aid and abet, economically, in the invasion of China. On moral grounds, they have relinquished the profits from such commerce. Others have defended the continuation of this trade on grounds that the question is one for government decision, and that for individual firms to give it up voluntarily would mean simply a transfer of orders to less scrupulous producers and exporters. For effective curtailment, government action is necessary.

*Upon what basis could the United States embargo war supplies to Japan?*

Upon the basis of America's obligation and right under the Nine Power Treaty. The obligation is to refrain from furnishing large and indispensable help for the violent assault upon China's sovereignty and independence, which we are pledged by treaty to respect. The right is a position for our nationals in China equal to that of nationals from all other countries.

*Would such an embargo be applied all at once?*

This depends upon whether legislation is discretionary or mandatory; there are several advantages in the former. Its moral effect in Japan would be great, even before the act was specifically applied. If allowed some discretion in applying the law, the State Department could take into account such important matters as timing, the

attitude of other countries, and the probable effect of particular restrictions upon both Japan and the United States. At the same time, a mandatory law, applied all at once, would be much preferable to continuing to arm Japan.

*Upon what ground could increased duties be levied upon imports from Japan?*

Upon the ground of constant violations of American trading rights, despite careful enumerations and repeated protests by our government. Increased American duties can be levied by Executive action.

*Would such restrictions upon imports from Japan injure her working people rather than her militarists?*

The greatest burden of the entire Japanese people today is the war against China. Nothing can contribute so much to a relief of that burden as an end of the war. The stopping of American assistance which tends only to prolong the conflict is one way in which real relief for the Japanese people can be realized. The funds now obtained through exports to the United States are used almost exclusively for the purchase of supplies with which to prosecute the war against China, and not for the real benefit of the Japanese people. Furthermore, the vastly greater suffering of the Chinese people, magnified directly by our war trade with Japan, should not be forgotten; they are the real victims of our present policy.

*Would restrictions upon American war trade with Japan really be an effective means toward ending the conflict?*

Except for a few commodities such as crude oil, Japan would have great difficulty in securing from other sources even a substantial portion of the war supplies which she now gets from the United States; many essential commodities—such as high-grade steel and ferro-alloys, copper, aviation gasoline and high-grade lubricating oil, automobiles and parts, munitions machinery and parts, and machine tools—she would be practically powerless to obtain except in very small quantities elsewhere. A reduction of our imports from Japan would immediately restrict her ability to buy war materials in any market. Once the overwhelming disadvantage in materials and equipment is removed, China may be expected to regain her sovereignty and freedom. The key to peace, and to China's independence, lies not in words, but in action to withhold America's positive help from Japan's militarists.

*Would the Japanese regard such action as unfriendly?*

There is evidence that an increasing number among the Japanese people would welcome any influence which helped to bring an end to the war. Such American action would doubtless be resented by Japan's military leaders and many of their followers even though it would be clearly based upon a treaty to which their country had voluntarily assented. With much greater reason, however, could the Chinese regard as "unfriendly" our continued extensive support to the military power which is devastating their country.

*What about the risk of war?*

The statement that "embargoes mean war" is frequently made by opponents of such action in relation to Japan. But when asked for historical illustrations, they



are nonplussed. Actually, long before the European conflict began, Russia, France, and even Australia, New Zealand and Indo-China had extensive restrictions upon their war trade with Japan; in no case did this lead to war. Russia, a traditional enemy, has given Japan far more serious provocation, yet Japan did not go to war against her.

Indeed, how could Japan, in her present state of exhaustion, after nearly three years of inconclusive warfare in China, and with her present dependence upon American markets and supplies, contemplate a war with a nation so powerful and so rich in resources as the United States of America? She can hardly carry on against China with American help; how could she fight both China and America without American help? Already she is suffering from shortages in labor, fuel, and foreign exchange. Even with a large fleet, where would she get the materials and money for a war against America? For Japan's military leaders to provoke such a conflict would only be to invite economic ruin at home and to precipitate their own fall as rulers of the nation. If we continue to sustain Japan, however, the situation may become very much more dangerous in the near future.

Of course no human situation is wholly predictable, and whatever degree of risk is involved should be faced. Threats and even incidents might conceivably follow such action. The temporary withdrawal of Americans from parts of occupied China might become necessary. The Japanese might possibly blockade ports of entry for China. It is believed, however, that the American people would then demonstrate the common sense, confidence, and restraint that such a transitional period might require. It is hardly conceivable that the relatively small risks in this case would prevent the American government from doing what an overwhelming majority of the people believed to be right, especially when the risks of inaction are much greater.

It may be expected that Japan's reaction to a just and firm policy will, as in the past, be more constructive than her response to a timid policy of mere words, interpreted by her military leaders as a sign of weakness and fear.

### *Would Japan attack the Dutch East Indies?*

Possession of these islands, "the treasure house of the Pacific", has long been a factor in Japanese calculations. The question of an attempted occupation is probably one of timing, not in relation to American trade policies, but in relation to Japan's total strategic situation. If Holland becomes involved in Europe, the security of these islands will be jeopardized. The stronger Japan feels in China, and the more she believes that other nations are too afraid or too occupied elsewhere to object, the more likely will an attempt to appropriate the islands become. American support to Japan now only increases this likelihood. At present, the risks of involvement, the heavy cost of such an undertaking, and the precarious situation in China are deterring factors for Japan.

### *Would Japan make an alliance with Soviet Russia?*

Such an alliance at the expense of China is improbable. Traditional disputes—over boundaries, fisheries, timber and oil in Northern Sakhalin—have never been resolved. More important, the Russians know that one of Japan's chief motives for attacking North China was to cut communications between Russia and China and to obtain a route through Mongolia by which she could be in a position to strike at the strategic Lake Baikal region and thus sever communications between European Russia and eastern Siberia. Russia would hardly care to make concessions to Japan in North China now, especially when Japan's forces, weakened by the China war,

offer no real threat to themselves. The Japanese, on the other hand, could scarcely be expected to withdraw from their present position in North China simply for the sake of a Russian pact, nor do they wish to see Russia grow stronger in Vladivostok and the rest of eastern Siberia. The Japanese might use the threat of a Russian alliance as a means of exacting concessions from Britain and France, but there appears to be no real foundation for a genuine rapprochement between Japan and Russia now. This conclusion is reinforced by the failure of recent conversations between the two countries. At the same time, there is evidence that substantial Soviet aid to China is being continued.

### *Would Great Britain and France "sell out" China?*

Hardly to the extent of supporting Japan. How far, during the European conflict, these powers may yield to Japanese pressure, at China's expense, may depend largely upon the United States. Their position will be progressively weakened if, as the European conflict continues, Japan, with continued American help, succeeds in strengthening her present insecure position in China, and in restoring her economic equilibrium at home. American influence, so decisive in this situation, cannot be evaded by simply shifting all responsibility to others. If the situation is not to grow steadily worse, our peaceful influence needs to be transferred from the side of aggression to that of treaty observance and a restoration of China's independence, with full recognition of the great stabilizing effect that this would have upon relations in Asia and in the whole Pacific area. The British and French, with public opinion opposed to Japan, with their strong desire to retain American good will, and with their own Far Eastern interests at stake, would not be likely to adopt measures in opposition to such an affirmative American policy.

### *Would it be safer for America simply to "sit tight" and "do nothing"?*

It is usually easier to weigh the risks of action than it is to weigh the risks of inaction. Yet the history of the last decade furnishes repeated illustrations of the truth that timid inaction, instead of "appeasing" aggression, may actually encourage it. When fires are spreading, "sitting tight" may not be the safest course.

In the case of Japan, an American policy of firm words but little affirmative action would not be so serious if we were actually "doing nothing". But the fact is that our economic strength, which really counts in war, is still overwhelmingly on the side of Japan, despite all of our popular sympathies and diplomatic pronouncements. Drift and indecision mean a steady continuation of this dangerous situation.

And why is it dangerous? Because with continued American help, Japan may succeed in consolidating another great step toward her ambition to dominate Asia and the Western Pacific. Continued support to Japan may mean the loss of a friendly, developing, independent China as a great factor in world peace and in the security of all nations around the Pacific. The more America follows a timid policy, as far as action is concerned, the more other nations, involved in a life and death struggle in Europe, will be tempted to abandon their own efforts to resist Japan's far-reaching program of conquest.

Firmness, courage, and a sense of justice in determining our own conduct may prove far less hazardous in the end than a frightened policy of immediate expediency. Those who insist, rightly, that the possible consequences of any action should be weighed, should face also the necessity of weighing the far more serious consequences that may result from inaction—from a lack of the moral stamina required to remove ourselves from the role of "Japan's partner".

*Should we run the risk of offending our third best customer?*

There is no darker blemish upon America's good name today than the fact that, for profit, we are supporting economically Japan's ruthless assault upon the people of China. The "dirty money" thus received should rest heavily upon the consciences of those who accept it.

There is also, however, an economic answer to this question that is becoming increasingly clear to business men. The difficulties of international trade today are due in considerable measure to the very lawlessness, military aggressiveness, and ultra-nationalistic trade practices that have characterized Japan's foreign policy and that of a few other nations during recent years. Only as confidence and morality between nations are restored can our own foreign trade be reestablished on sure foundations. The worst that we can do in our own interest now is to continue supporting economically the very policies that are destroying the fabric of international order and cooperation. Furthermore, Japan's capacity to purchase American goods is shrinking, and will continue to shrink so long as the present conflict is prolonged—with American help. The way to restore Japan's market, and China's, is not by helping to extend the war, but by helping to end it. Then, with reconstruction ahead, a healthy, peaceful trade with both countries can develop, to the benefit of all concerned. And the enormous burden of armaments can be reduced.

*Would an embargo on war supplies to Japan injure our cotton export trade?*

Pending legislation for the curbing of war exports to Japan exempts agricultural products, including cotton, from such restrictions. In a sense, we have already injured our cotton trade by helping to prolong a war that has cut our cotton exports to Japan and China by more than half. Further declines are inevitable as the war continues. Moreover, it is the avowed aim of Japan to develop in China the culture of "American" grades of cotton in order to become independent of American supplies. A sound basis for an upswing in cotton exports to the Far East will come with the restoration of a free China and, in both countries, relief from the burdens of war and a gradual rise again in living standards and purchasing power.

*Will there be a "way out" for Japan, if she fails in China?*

There will be, as soon as she shows that her aggressive, militaristic policies have been abandoned. During the last world war, Japan made notable gains in domestic production and peaceful foreign trade; the opportunity to do so again should facilitate the difficult transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy. The advantages of mutually beneficial trade with China will be available again as soon as China is assured of respect as an equal. Once it becomes clear that the Japanese have abandoned military aggression as an instrument of national policy, the American people would almost certainly be ready to help with the difficult problems of reconstruction faced by the people of Japan, as well as with those faced by the people of China.

**Public Opinion**

Do you think our government should forbid the sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline and other war materials to Japan?

Yes—75%

No—25%

(Nation-wide Gallup Poll, February 1940)

## FROM THE PRESS OF THE NATION

Unless we curb our exports of strategic commodities to Japan, we shall remain in the preposterous situation of having condemned Japanese aggression and yet continued to cooperate fully with Japan's war by supplying over half her imported war requirements. This is an undignified, immoral, and short-sighted role, and we ought to bring it to an end. (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 1940)

When it seems so very certain that the victory of Japanese arms in China will lead swiftly to a war in the Pacific that will cost us many billions, it also seems absurd that this country should go on supplying that army with most of the gasoline that makes its bombings possible and keeps its tanks, armored cars, trucks and motorized artillery in action, most of the metals that go into its ammunition, most of the machine tools that turn out shells and guns, a lot of the leather on which the Japanese soldiery marches and repair parts for all kinds of engine machines. (*New York Herald Tribune*, Dec. 1939)

Why, it is being asked on every side, without a satisfactory answer, should American industries continue to supply the Japanese with scrap iron and steel, with copper, oil, gasoline and other materials equally essential to waging one of the most atrociously uncivilized wars in all history? Is it not past time to put a stop to this unspeakably horrible traffic? (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 1940)

If Japan persists in her crime in China the United States should give Tokyo to understand that we will have no part in it. It is unquestionably to our interest to break the stranglehold that Japan has on the Orient by every practical, pacific, economic and financial means within our power. (*Salt Lake City Desert News*, Feb. 1940)

From a selfish American point of view, the ultimate value of a free Chinese

market offers far greater advantages than trade prospects with the Japanese. (*Indianapolis Star*, Mar. 1940)

The best way to implement our diplomacy just now would be to clamp a war materials embargo on Japan, as a means of squeezing the already weakened Japanese military caste out of China and maybe off the backs of the Japanese people. (*New York Daily News*, Mar. 1940)

Had we refused to supply Japan with a virtually unlimited amount of scrap metal, it is almost certain that that country could not have prosecuted its ruthless campaign in China. We have, under the cloak of neutrality, not only made it possible for "our next probable enemy" to obtain essential materials for war against one of our friends but have at the same time cut seriously into our own supply of materials that would be urgently needed if we were confronted with a sudden emergency. (*Washington, D. C., Post*, Feb. 1939)

It is the moral duty of our Government to institute an embargo against Japan insofar as war materials are concerned. We believe this should have been done long ago. (*Charleston, S. C., Gazette*, Jan. 1939)

The shipment of scrap iron for replenishment of Japanese armaments is repugnant to the conscience of our people. (*Seattle Post Intelligencer*, Mar. 1939)

It is time to take ourselves out of the role of accessory to crime. (*The New York Times*, July 1939)

Americans are not only increasingly indignant over affronts to their rights in China; they are increasingly aware of the American stake in an orderly world. (*Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 1940)

*The above excerpts are only samples of American editorial comment, selected from among hundreds of forceful statements which might equally well have been chosen. A recent study of editorials from nearly 500 representative U.S. newspapers revealed between 70 and 80 per cent as favoring governmental action to curb U.S. war trade with Japan.*



## AN AFFIRMATIVE POLICY

There are two principal methods by which the United States can check the extensive aid now being furnished by this country to Japan's military program.

**1. Through legislation.** Bills for this purpose have already been introduced by Senators Pittman and Schwollenbach, members of the Foreign Relations Committee, and by Congressmen Eaton (N. J.), Wallgren (Wash.), Izac (Cal.), Coffee (Wash.), and Allen (Pa.).

The Pittman bill (S.J. Res. 123) provides that whenever the President shall find that any foreign state which is a party to the Nine Power Pact, is endangering the lives of citizens of the United States, or depriving such citizens of their legal rights and privileges in violation of the express provisions and guaranties in said treaty, the President is authorized to restrict or prohibit the export to such foreign state of arms, ammunition, implements of war, iron, steel, oil, gasoline, scrap-iron, scrap-steel, and scrap-metal.

The Schwollenbach bill (S.J. Res. 143) provides that there shall be denied export to all merchandise, munitions, etc. (except agricultural products) which there is reason to believe will be used in violation of the sovereignty and independence of any nation whose sovereignty and independence the United States is obligated by treaty to respect; that the President shall issue proclamations specifying the articles and materials to be denied export whereupon it shall become unlawful to export or attempt to export such articles or materials.

It will be noted that these bills are based upon American rights and obligations under the Nine Power Treaty, and that they would apply to other nations equally insofar as the terms of this treaty are concerned.

**2. Through Executive action.** The President is empowered, under the Tariff Act, to place additional duties upon any or all imports and upon shipping from a nation which sets up illegal discriminatory restrictions upon American trade. The nature and extent of such restrictions employed by Japan have been set forth in official communications to the Japanese government, without apparent effect. Under these circumstances, the President can place additional duties upon imports from Japan. Denunciation of the commercial treaty between the United States and Japan has paved the way for such action.

Such a course, followed during a transitional period, would rest on solid grounds of justice under law, and of America's own best interests. It would leave China free to achieve her own independence, which she doubtless can and will do against an unaided Japan. No outcome could contribute more to the peace and well-being of all Pacific nations.

## FOR AN ENDURING PEACE

Never have Americans looked beyond the seas with deeper concern than today. For a decade we have witnessed the breakdown of treaties, the invasion of weaker nations, the ominous increase of armaments. Now two continents are locked in conflict, and we see, more than ever before, the mobilization of whole peoples, with the submergence of their ordinary life—their activities, thought, freedoms, and aspirations—to the grim requirements of nations engaged in a life and death struggle.

With this picture has come the disquieting thought that if forces of lawlessness gain the ascendancy elsewhere, there will be little on which to build a future peace. Indifference on our part would be impossible. Facing a world of hostile camps, we would impose upon ourselves a much more staggering burden of armaments which of themselves would reduce our prosperity and shorten the spaces that now divide us from the areas of conflict. We too would experience the restraints, and the losses of freedom, incurred by nations that are girding seriously for possible combat in the world of today. Is there nothing that we can do now, while keeping the peace ourselves, to prevent the coming of such a day?

Americans have never thought more realistically or more honestly about the problems of peace than now. There is a growing and disturbing realization that if we had done our part better, heretofore, in the building of peace, the world might not be where it is today. Many persons are asking whether there is any way, even now, in which America can exert its peaceful influence more effectively on the side of law and freedom and cooperation, and against ruthless military aggression.

In the Pacific, American influence and responsibility are now paramount. There exists an opportunity, which may not come again, to help terminate the present stalemate in China, and to cooperate then in the building of a more equitable and enduring peace in "half the world". What are the necessary foundations for such a peace? They may be variously stated; by thoughtful study and negotiation, their details can be delineated. Four basic elements are believed to be essential.

1. **The ending of Japanese aggression.** This will become a reality when American help to Japan is stopped. We may not feel—with good reason—that it is our responsibility to stop Japan. But we cannot escape the responsibility that is now ours for arming Japan, and for thus preventing China from resisting more decisively Japan's military aggression.

2. **The restoration of an independent China.** It has been well said that China can regain her independence against Japan alone, but that she may not be able to do so against a Japan backed by the economic

resources of the United States of America. A free and friendly China, progressing internally and disposed to cooperate with other peace-loving nations, is a factor of inestimable importance in the restoration of security, and in the reestablishment of international relations in the Pacific area.

**3. A new and better machinery for peace.** This presents difficult problems, but the alternative is a return to international anarchy. Much has been learned during the last twenty-five years. It is clear that an imposed or vengeful peace, unfair to any nation concerned, is impermanent; that effective safeguards against future aggression are necessary; that channels for the equitable settlement of disputes are essential; and that means must be provided for overdue or urgently needed changes by peaceful methods. Most of all, there needs to be a restoration of confidence, and good will, and friendly economic and cultural intercourse between the nations concerned. The essential problems of eastern Asia and the Pacific are not as difficult or involved as those of Europe. The United States, in a spirit not of exploitation but of cooperation among equals, has an unexcelled opportunity to extend the Good Neighbor policy toward other great nations of the Pacific area.

**4. The development of economic cooperation.** Political peace without economic peace is illusory. With the end of war, both China and Japan will face exceedingly difficult problems. They must be helped in making adjustments involved in shifting to a peace economy, and in initiating broad efforts toward reconstruction. They must be assured of access to resources needed for their economic life, and to markets essential to the development of their industries and trade. The United States can help through public and private credits (utilizing, perhaps, some of our enormous gold stocks for this purpose), through new commercial treaties with both countries providing for mutually beneficial trade relations, and through the encouragement of like treaties between China and Japan, and between both nations and other Pacific powers. By whatever specific methods may be deemed best, the United States will have the opportunity, once the war is ended, to contribute its responsible and significant share toward the increasing prosperity and well-being of Asia and the Americas.

But for this it is essential that we take the first step of making it possible for China to end the war and to bring about the first great check to aggression in a decade, by ourselves foregoing the sordid profits from our war trade with Japan. Only then can there emerge the necessary foundations for a just and lasting peace in the Pacific.

# THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NON-PARTICIPATION IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION

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**T**HE question—"Shall America Stop Arming Japan?"—is one for the American people to decide. No issue is more important, or more urgent, in our foreign relations today. The government will act when the people demand it in unmistakable terms.

Here are concrete suggestions for the individual who is prepared to do his part in a nation-wide democratic movement to end America's support to Japanese aggression. Every genuine action counts. Help make your own democracy work.

## **What One Person Can Do**

### **Toward Ending America's Arming of Japan**

1. Order and distribute widely copies of this booklet and other literature designed to make the facts known.
2. Write your own views, frankly and clearly, to the President, the Secretary of State, your two Senators, and your Congressman. (Address each: Hon. ....  
Washington, D. C. Correct names can be secured by a telephone call to your local Board of Elections.)
3. Bring the question to the attention of your friends, and invite them to write also.
4. Cooperate with others, through existing civic, business, religious, and social organizations or a special committee, in seeing that the question is brought before public gatherings, local radio audiences, and the readers of your own newspapers.
5. Contribute to the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, which invites the cooperation of all and which depends entirely upon voluntary gifts for the effective conduct of its nation-wide program of education and publicity. Funds are urgently needed for the extension of this work. Full information, including suggestions for further cooperation, will be furnished gladly upon request.



**AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR**

**Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression**

**8 WEST 40th STREET**

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**

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APRIL 15, 1940

*"The storm center of the world has shifted to China. Whoever understands that mighty Empire—socially, politically, economically, religiously—has the key to world politics for the next five centuries."*

—JOHN HAY, U.S. Secretary of State,  
enunciator of the Open Door Policy

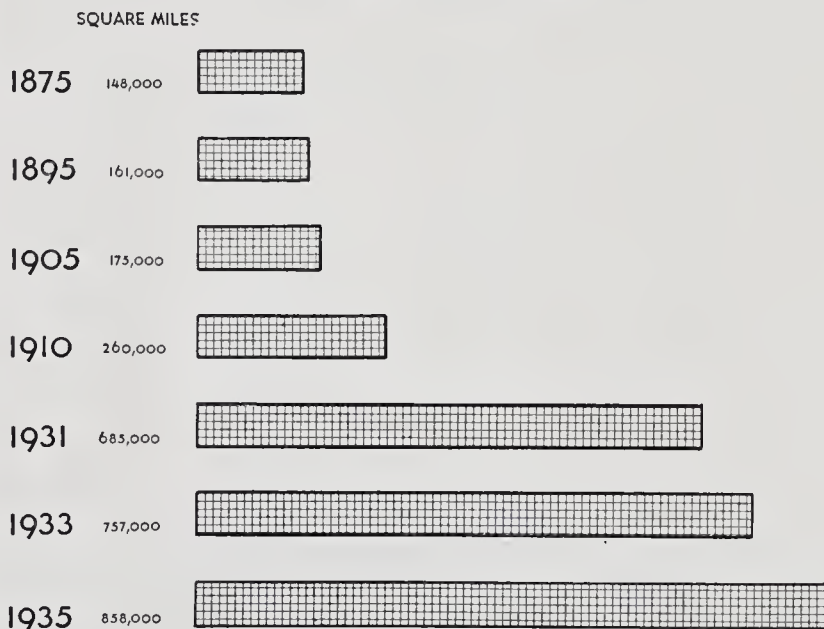
## FOREWORD

1940 is a year of crisis in the Pacific. The independence of China is at stake. The struggle for political dominance among the billion awakening people of Asia—half the world's population—is approaching a decisive stage. The outcome will determine whether there shall be one ascendant and prevailing militaristic power, or a balance of power, in Asia and the Western Pacific. The security of rich and strategic islands, with their supply of raw materials essential to the United States, is involved. The developing crisis of this year will profoundly affect the future security and well-being of all nations that border the Pacific.

In the evenly matched conflict now raging across fifteen hundred miles in China, a decisive role will be played by the United States of America. It is inescapable. For if we "do nothing," our great economic resources and strength will continue, as now, overwhelmingly on the side of Japan. If we withdraw that aid, China will almost certainly emerge a free nation. America holds the balance in the Pacific today. After careful consideration of all factors, a choice must be made. What will it be?



# HOW JAPAN'S "CONTROLLED AREA" HAS EXPANDED



## JAPAN: SOME LANDMARKS

- 1894-5 Fights China
- 1904-5 Fights Russia
- 1910 Annexes Korea
- 1915 Serves Twenty-One Demands on China
- 1919 Acquires Southern Pacific Mandates
- 1922 Signs Nine Power Treaty agreeing to respect China's integrity
- 1928 Signs Kellogg-Briand Pact
- 1931 Invades Manchuria
- 1932 Makes first attack on Shanghai
- 1933 Annexes Jehol
- 1935 Annexes southern Chahar
- 1936 Invades Suiyuan
- 1937 Begins major war at Marco Polo Bridge
- Occupies Tientsin, Peking, Shanghai, Nanking
- 1938 Occupies Canton, Hankow
- 1939 Occupies Hainan, Spratly Islands
- Faces denunciation of U. S.-Japanese commercial treaty
- Meets military reverse at Changsha
- 1940 Attempts to induct puppet government for China

## THE STORY OF JAPANESE EXPANSION

For forty-five years Japan has been following an opportunistic policy of expansion by force. Before 1937, the area under her control had grown from 147,000 to 858,000 square miles. It is as if an Atlantic power the size of Montana were gradually to conquer the West Indies, New England, the Middle Atlantic States, all territory westward to the Mississippi, and North and South Carolina. Roughly 60,000,000 alien people were thus brought under the domination of Japan's military leaders.

The steps in this expansion are well known. War with China in 1894-5 gave Japan control, southward, of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands; it also led to the "independence" of Korea.

War with Russia in 1904-5 extended her sway northward to the lower half of Sakhalin Island, and to a leasehold on the Kwantung peninsula in Manchuria. Korea was formally annexed in 1910.

In 1915, with Europe at war, Japan served upon China the now famous Twenty-One Demands which, if accepted, would have undermined Chinese sovereignty. The more flagrant of these Demands were rejected, due in part to strong protest from the United States. Japan's strategic position in the Pacific, however, was notably enhanced, after the World War, by the award to her, as a mandate, of former German dependencies in the South Pacific—the Caroline, Marianas, Marshall, and Palau Islands. The Japanese now regard these islands as part of the "Empire."

In 1929 the celebrated Tanaka Memorandum to the Emperor was published. Although this document was repudiated by the Japanese Government, the faithfulness with which subsequent invasions have followed its text lends validity to the presumption of its authenticity.

The rich and vast territory of Manchuria was invaded in 1931. Despite world-wide condemnation, this conquest was extended, in 1933, to include the strategically important province, Jehol; in 1935, Chahar was likewise invaded, and in 1936, Suiyuan.

Still the appetite for power of Japan's military caste showed no signs of being appeased. And in 1937, the greatest adventure of all was undertaken: the conquest of China—with an area roughly equivalent to that of the United States, and a population more than three times as large.



## THE INVASION OF CHINA

The invasion was well timed. European powers were absorbed with the perils of the Spanish conflict. America seemed safely removed, with a new neutrality law. China, meanwhile, was developing steadily in every aspect of national life. Japan's military leaders decided that the moment had come to begin their most far-reaching and ambitious venture. It was then or never!

Many of Japan's civilian leaders regarded such a course with grave apprehension. On March 1, 1937, Mr. Seiji Yoshida, Chairman of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Shanghai, reported, "China's political and economic progress in recent years has been rapid, and the Chinese people have been earnest in working out their destiny", and he stated that the present was an opportune moment to "rectify" the erroneous China policy hitherto employed. He saw the possibilities of friendly economic cooperation between Japan and China. But Japan's militarists, witnessing the growing unity and strength of China, saw otherwise.


The invasion of China proper began, near Peking, with the Lukouchiao incident of July 7, 1937. On August 13, fighting broke out in Shanghai. After two and one-half years of conflict, China's defense is still vigorous. Although Japan is employing a million men in the struggle, her problems have multiplied. Lengthening lines have increased the difficulties of supply. Ruthless treatment of the civilian populace has only stiffened the Chinese will to resist at any cost. Guerrilla tactics on the part of the Chinese have finally brought the Japanese military machine to a virtual standstill. And economic strains upon the home economy are steadily mounting.

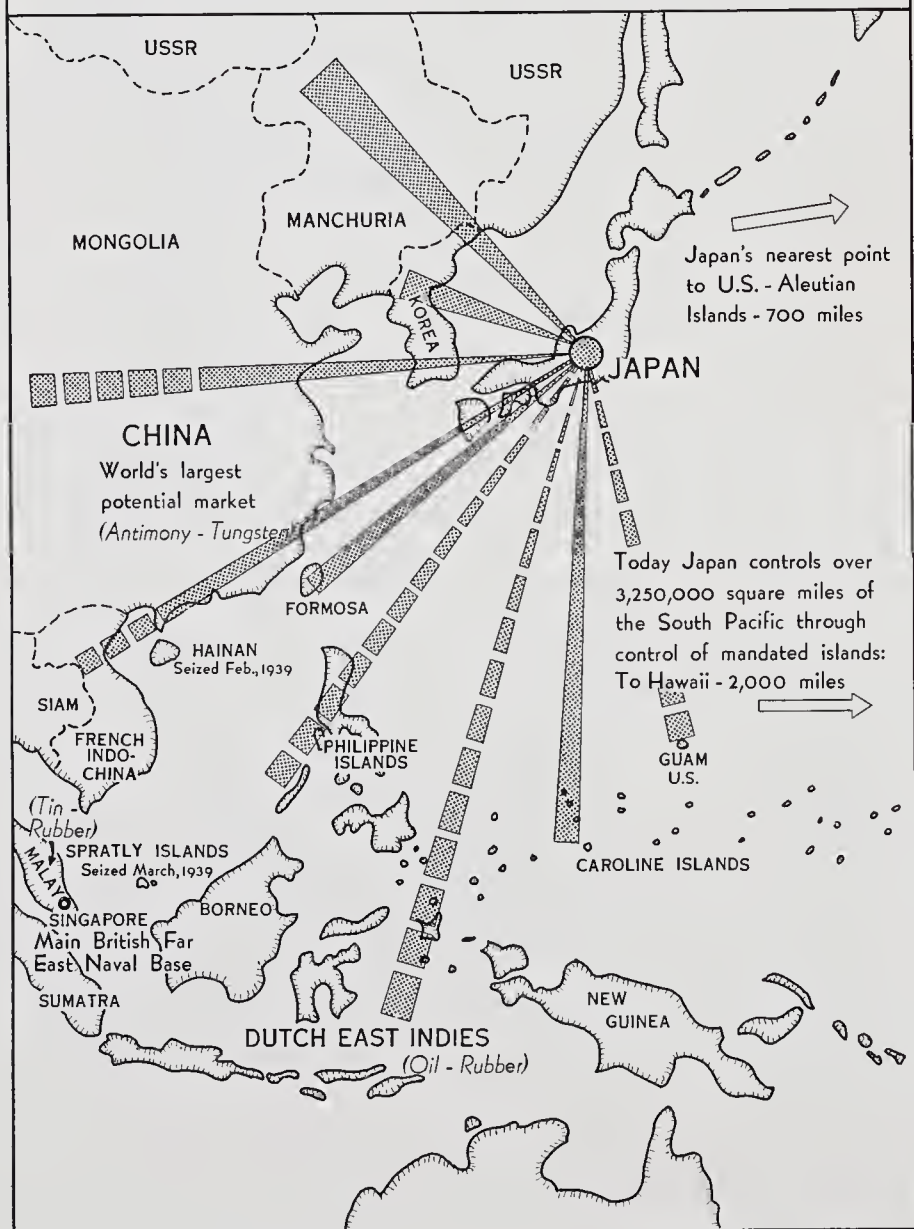
Yet the situation remains extremely dangerous from China's standpoint. Japanese troops now control practically her entire coast, most of her railway lines, the Yangtze River as far as Hankow, and most of her larger cities. Forty million civilians have been driven from their homes into the greatest war migration in history. Resistance to economic penetration in "conquered" areas is increasingly difficult. There is a limit to human endurance, and Japan, fortified by American economic assistance, which is probably greater than Germany can expect from Russia, may yet succeed in producing, all over China, the chaos that now exists where Japanese armies have penetrated.



# JAPAN'S AIMS IN THE ORIENT

 NOW CONTROLS

 DESIRES CONTROL



## JAPAN'S OBJECTIVE: A VAST MILITARY EMPIRE

What underlying force has given Japanese expansion such consistency and dogged perseverance in the face of mounting obstacles abroad and deprivations at home? It is more than economic necessity, for Japan's real economic problems could far better have been solved by a policy of cooperation and trade with China and the West. It is more than a mere "dream of Empire".

To understand Japanese military mentality today, it is necessary to glance back into centuries of feudalism. Each warlord had then his following of *samurai*, or warriors, whom he placed in a class above all others, with power even of life and death over the artisans and peasants of the lord's estate. Among these *samurai* was cultivated a code of honor involving utter loyalty to the lord and scorn of hardship. Developed also was a passionate belief in the Emperor as a direct descendant of the Goddess of Heaven, whose line was destined to rule the world, and in the Japanese people as a heaven-sent race above the rest of mankind. The standards and beliefs of the *samurai* permeated the mass of the people.

Only recently has Japan emerged from military feudalism. There has come quick industrialization along some lines. There has been a rapid adoption of modern military implements and methods. But there has been no real liberal movement in Japan, no elevation and freeing of the individual. The hold of military leaders over all classes, and over every channel of education and information has remained dominant. The people—pleasant, courteous, beauty-loving—are still, for the most part, in mental thralldom to the Emperor and to those who work for his "Manifest Destiny".

Modern warlords and *samurai* direct Japan's course today. They are hard-headed, calculating, and determined. Their ambitions are well known: the conquest and domination of China, and the elimination of Western influence there; through use of China's untapped resources and huge manpower, the building up of immense and unassailable military and economic strength; expanding control of the Western and Southern Pacific; an increasing invasion of world markets with low-priced manufactures; and finally, the rise of Japan to world dominance.

Japanese who possess the wisdom and courage to question this program are not yet strong enough to challenge it.

## SOME JAPANESE STATEMENTS

In 1592, Hideyoshi enunciated a plan for the conquest of Korea, Manchuria, and China. This pattern of empire has been preserved and embellished during subsequent centuries. Following are a few among many utterances during modern times:

"All through the twenty-six-century story of Nippon, a miracle has never failed to come to pass—the miracle of national unity unknown to the annals of the West. There is just one key that explains this miracle: His Majesty The Tenno. His . . . magic power . . . can instantly unite 70,000,000 Japanese into one solid force . . . which can strike as they are striking along the North China and Yangtze fronts today. . . ." (Y. MATSUOKA, *Pres.*, *S. Manchuria Railway*, January 1939)

"We firmly believe we are destined to expand in the light of our proud history and our religious loyalty to the throne. It is this national faith in our destiny which brought on the Sino-Japanese War and, later, the Russo-Japanese War." (S. TAKAISHI, *Director*, *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*, and *Osaka Mainichi*, 1939)

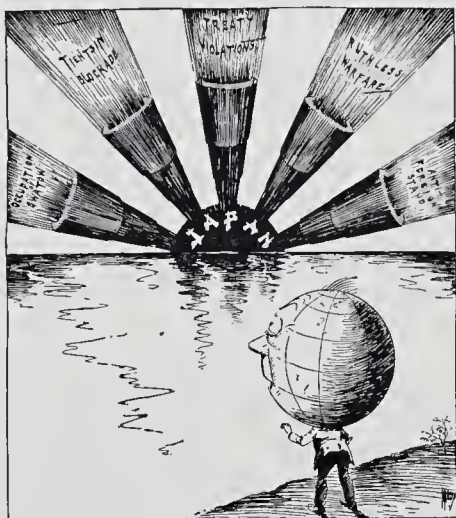
"In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will fear us and surrender to us." (*Tanaka Memorandum*, 1929)

"We will never give up an inch of the territories already occupied." (PREMIER F. KONOYE, *March 1938*)

"Japan does not want an inch of Chinese territory." (PREMIER F. KONOYE, *July 1938*)

"We must maintain large forces in China even after the destruction of Chiang Kai-shek's regime." (MAJOR C. KATO, *Japanese War Office*, February 1940)

"It is, obviously, necessary to tighten our economic relations . . . in the South Seas. . . . We have no territorial ambitions, but only desire to utilize and exploit the natural resources there." (*Foreign Minister H. ARITA*, February 1940)



*Courtesy of The New York Times*

"An' the dawn comes up like thunder  
outer China 'crost the bay!"—Kipling

## A CENTURY OF AMERICAN POLICY

A hundred years ago, European influence and power were extending around the world to eastern Asia, and Americans were beginning to look across the Pacific. Merchants of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States were seeking ever-widening markets for products of the Industrial Revolution. Asia, especially China, offered a rich prize, made more accessible by the advent of ocean steamships.

Great Britain signed the first treaty with China in 1842. Other nations, including the United States, quickly followed. "Treaty ports" were opened in China and Japan, sometimes by force or by a show of force. A system of external controls began to develop, including conventional tariffs, concessions, extraterritoriality, and the stationing of defense forces. Japan, smaller and more unified, promptly resisted these limitations of her sovereignty and began to adopt Western industrial and military techniques, but China, vast and decentralized in villages and families, became a semi-colonial nation.

While America benefited from these arrangements, it can be truthfully said that her influence was consistently on the side of restraint, and of friendship for China. In 1858, a new treaty with China provided that "if any other nation should act unjustly or oppressively, the United States will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement of the question, thus showing their friendly feeling".

The struggle for "spheres of influence" in China—with Japan and Russia now actively participating—became more intense toward the end of the century. There was talk of "partitioning" China, and the Boxer rebellion broke loose. It was at this time, in 1900, that John Hay, U.S. Secretary of State, took the lead in enunciating the "Open Door" doctrine, providing that all nations should have equal opportunity in trade with China—a farsighted move which preserved China's independence and perhaps averted a first world war.

When Japan, with Europe at war in 1915, submitted her far-reaching Twenty-One Demands to China, the United States refused to recognize any agreement or undertaking which impaired the political or territorial integrity of China, or the "Open Door" policy.

When the United States went to war with Germany in 1917, the American Government invited China to follow suit. Relying upon America's friendship, she abandoned her careful neutrality and joined the Allies.



## STATEMENTS OF AMERICA'S POSITION

"The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace in China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." (JOHN HAY, *U. S. Secretary of State*, July 1900)

"The American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto*, nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the Open Door Policy. . . ." (AMERICAN NOTE, *January 1932*)

"The Nine Power Treaty represents a carefully developed and matured international policy intended, on the one hand, to assure to all of the contracting parties their rights and interests in and with regard to China, and on the other hand, to assure to the people of China the fullest opportunity to develop without molestation their sovereignty and independence. . . ." (H. L. STIMSON, *U. S. Secretary of State*, in letter to Senator Borah, February 1932)

"In the light of unfolding developments in the Far East, the Government of the United States has been forced to the conclusion that the action of Japan in China is inconsistent with the principles which should govern the relationships between nations, and is contrary to the provisions of the Nine Power Treaty of February 6, 1922, regarding principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China, and to those of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of August 27, 1928." (CORDELL HULL, *U. S. Secretary of State*, October 1937)

"In short, the American people, from all the thoroughly reliable evidence that comes to them, have good reason to believe that an effort is being made to establish control, in Japan's own interest, of large areas on the continent of Asia, and to impose upon those areas a system of closed economy. It is this thought, added to the effect of the bombings, the indignities, and the manifold interference with American rights, that accounts for the attitude of the American people toward Japan today." (JOSEPH C. GREW, *U. S. Ambassador to Japan*, October 1939)

## A CENTURY OF AMERICAN POLICY (*continued*)

When China declared war against Germany, the American Minister, Paul S. Reinsch, sent the following message to the Chinese Foreign Office: "My government is pleased to take this opportunity to give to the Chinese government the assurance of its solidarity, of its friendship, of its support. It will do all that depends upon it in order that China may have the benefit in her international relations of the situation and the regards due to a great country." Despite this positive assurance, President Wilson was constrained to compromise with Japan, and with allies who had made secret agreements with her, in order to secure their consent to the League of Nations. At the Versailles Conference part of Shantung province which had been leased to Germany, and which had been seized by Japan when she declared war on Germany, was not restored to China but given to Japan. The compromise was unsatisfactory and impermanent.

Possibly because of an uneasy feeling that we had misled China, our Government initiated at the Washington Conference on Naval Limitation discussions which dealt with the Far Eastern situation. The result was the Nine Power Treaty which gave legal form and added significance to the doctrine of the Open Door, with clauses safeguarding China's sovereignty.

Under protection of this treaty, China began to set her house in order, and enjoyed a decade free from foreign molestation. After an initial period of upheaval, Chiang Kai-shek came into power and gathered around him, in 1927, as the dominant leaders in Chinese life, a group of younger men largely trained in American institutions and imbued with American ideals. China began to make extraordinary progress in every aspect of national reconstruction.

When Japan initiated her invasion of Manchuria, the American Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, on January 7, 1932, formally stated that the American Government "cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto* . . . which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the Open Door Policy."

Thus the United States has, during the last century, followed in the main a policy of justice and friendship for China, with the conviction that the independence of that nation is indispensable to an enduring peace in the Orient, and to security for this hemisphere.

## THE NINE POWER TREATY

Treaty between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, Signed at Washington, February 6, 1922.

### ARTICLE I.

The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree:

(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;

(2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;

(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;

(4) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

### ARTICLE II.

The Contracting Powers agree not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement, or understanding, either with one another, or, individually or collectively, with any Power or Powers, which would infringe or impair the principles stated in Article I.

### ARTICLE III.

With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the Contracting Powers, other than China, agree that they will not seek, nor support their respective nationals in seeking—

(a) any arrangement which might purport to establish in favour of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China;

(b) any such monopoly or preference as would deprive the nationals of any other Power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, or of participating with the Chinese Government, or with any local authority, in any category or public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity. . . . .

## **CORNERSTONE OF AMERICAN POLICY: THE NINE POWER TREATY**

The clearest statement of American policy in the Pacific is contained in the Nine Power Treaty, signed at Washington on February 6, 1922, by both the United States and Japan. It has been called, by Henry L. Stimson, "one of the most admirable and far-sighted treaties in the history of modern civilization". Prominent in the negotiations, on behalf of the United States, were Charles Evans Hughes, Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., and Oscar W. Underwood. For Japan, Baron K. Shidehara showed high qualities of statesmanship.

The Nine Power Treaty furnished a new legal foundation for international relations in the Pacific area. Its most important provisions are contained in Article I, reproduced on the opposite page. Here we find reaffirmed, in unmistakable terms, the obligation of every signatory to respect the independence of China. This was recognized as right in itself, and also as a necessary condition for maintenance of the "Open Door" principle. There was nothing to hinder Japan from benefiting by natural geographical propinquity to China's purchasable resources and developing markets, or by her own ability to manufacture inexpensive commodities for sale throughout Asia.

Time has vindicated the wisdom of the statesmen who wrought this Treaty. Implicit in their calculations was faith in the ability of the Chinese to work out their problems of internal stability and external cooperation. This faith was well justified during the fifteen years that followed. It is now clear that without the assurance of China's independence, it is impossible to prevent the disastrous intensification of political and commercial rivalries there. And it becomes increasingly clear that only with an independent and developing China can there be maintained peace and stability in Asia, and security for all nations that border the Pacific. It is not by the timid abandonment of these principles and truths, but by their clear and effective reaffirmation, that the United States can take its responsible part in the restoration of peace.



'So Sorry' Won't Do



Courtesy of the Oregon Journal

## **JAPAN SEEKS A "NEW ORDER" BY VIOLENCE**

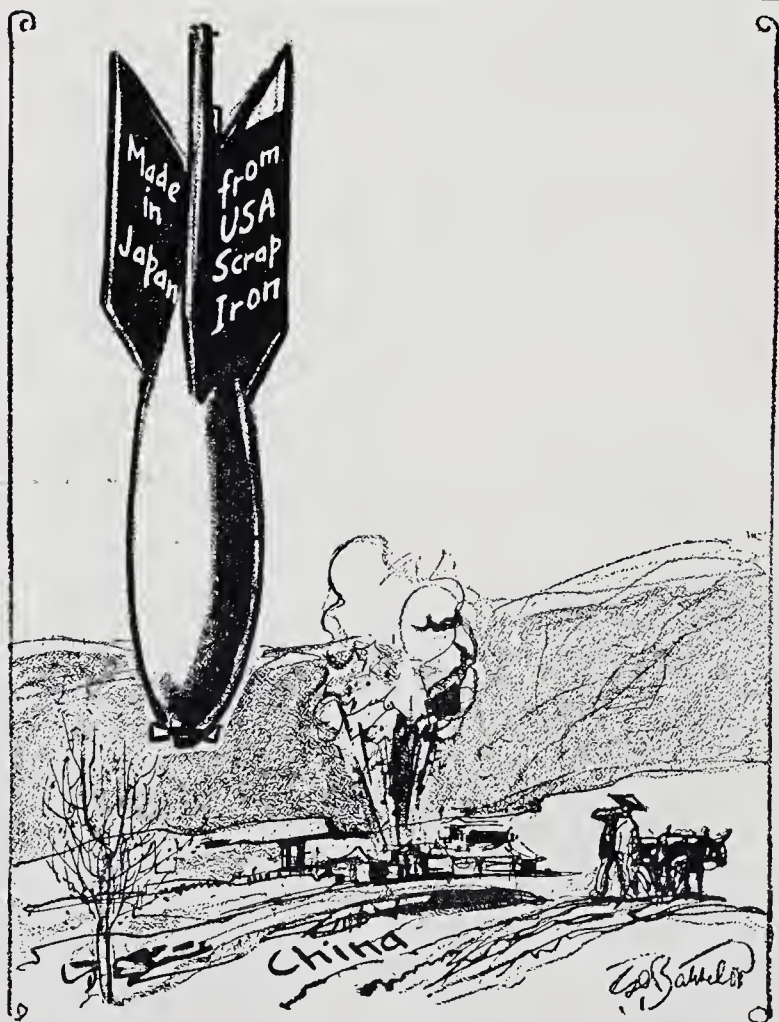
For a decade after the Washington Conference and the signing of the Nine Power Treaty, international cooperation and friendly trade developed in the Pacific area. Then suddenly, in 1931, Japan launched her assault upon Manchuria. By this action, she upset the whole post-war peace structure and initiated a world-wide chain of aggression which has continued to the present time. Defying world-wide condemnation, Japan has since continued and extended, in open violation of international agreements, her program of ruthless conquest.

The result has been termed the "New Disorder" in Eastern Asia. Admiral H. E. Yarnell, Commander-in-Chief, until his recent retirement, of the U. S. Asiatic Fleet, has said: "It is estimated that 40,000,000 Chinese have been driven from their homes to far distant areas, and of this number, from 5 to 10,000,000 have died of disease and privation. Cities far distant from the battle areas have been bombed and hundreds of thousands of non-combatants have been killed and wounded. The 'Rules for the Conduct of War' approved at The Hague many years ago, which provided for humane treatment of prisoners and non-combatants, have been discarded. . . . Inhumane and barbarous conduct against prisoners and non-combatants can be strictly controlled in any disciplined army, and the manner in which this war has been waged has profoundly shocked the civilized world."

Less apparent, but no less significant, have been the methods by which the invaders have sought to obtain control over the economic life of the Chinese people in "conquered" areas. Techniques developed in Formosa, Korea, and Manchuria are applied with a practiced hand. They involve a wresting of control and ownership of the means of production from the Chinese themselves, and the reducing of the entire population to a condition of dependence and serfdom. Absent are the features of any "enlightened" colonial policy; exploitation is direct and ruthless, with no compensating rise in the well-being of the conquered. Famine and desperate poverty are widespread. Schools are closed. Narcotics are systematically used both for revenue and demoralization. Every sign of opposition invites fearful retribution upon the civilian population. These facts are attested by many reliable American witnesses.

The prolonging of such oppression can only breed violent revolutionary forces in the most populous nation on earth. The irony of it all is that it could not go on without the extensive help which Japan receives steadily from "the land of the free, and the home of the brave."

## SPRING PLOWING



*Courtesy of the News, New York's Picture Newspaper*

## **JAPAN'S ARMY IN CHINA'S MORASS**

The first fifteen months of Japan's invasion of China were marked by spectacular victories. Despite stubborn and courageous resistance, the superior equipment and training of Japan's military forces enabled them to conquer most of China's coast and to penetrate along the important lines of communication. One by one, Tientsin, Peking, Shanghai, Nanking, Canton, and Hankow fell into their hands.

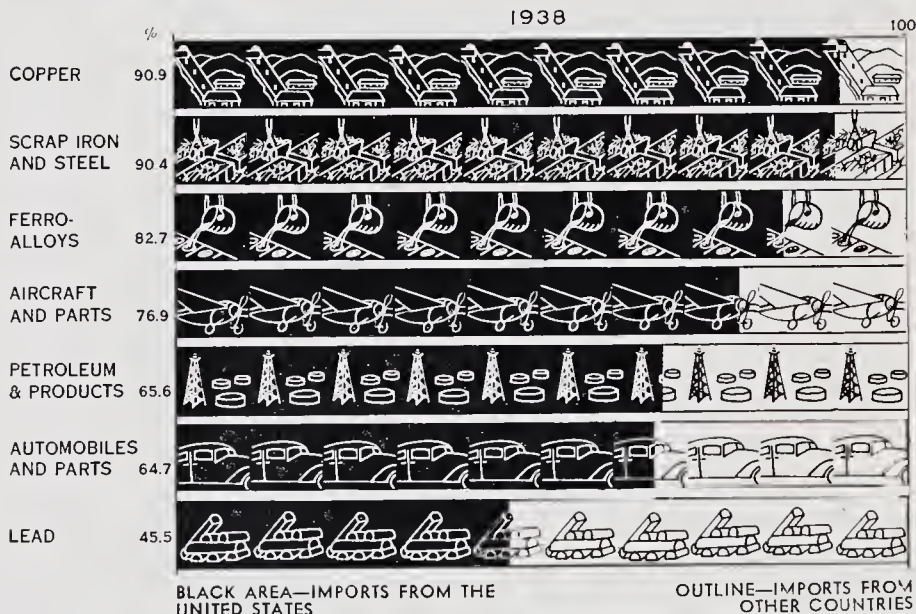
But during the next sixteen months their difficulties mounted, and the military situation approached a stalemate, despite enormous suffering on the part of the Chinese people. Long lines of communication were constantly harassed by guerrilla bands. Military and political control of the countryside were frustrated in many areas. The economic fruits of victory were elusive. Attempts to enlist the cooperation of respected Chinese leaders proved abortive. And the enormous costs of war and occupation produced increasing strains upon the home economy, with consequent murmurings of discontent.

Economic and political strains increased in China also. But traditional local self-sufficiency proved an asset; adjustments were made after the loss of industrial cities; Chinese morale remained unimpaired. Subtle opposition and non-cooperation were practiced in "conquered" areas despite the terroristic methods employed by the conquerors. "Political education" among the people of "free China" advanced rapidly. Military strategy improved, with increased emphasis upon training and upon the use of decentralized, mobile units, elusive to frontal attack by forces with superior armaments.

These facts have led some observers to feel that it would be only a matter of time until Japan would have to withdraw her forces from China. But it must be remembered that much has been staked upon the China policy, and that the Japanese are capable of determination and sacrifice. It is certain that a tenacious effort will be made to consolidate control over what has been taken by force. Whether or not this attempt succeeds during 1940 may hinge largely upon the continued cooperation of American industry and trade.



# JAPAN'S TOTAL IMPORTS OF ESSENTIAL WAR SUPPLIES AND THE EXTENT OF HER DEPENDENCE UPON THE UNITED STATES



## UNITED STATES TRADE WITH JAPAN, 1928 AND 1939 (thousands of dollars)

ILLUSTRATING RISE IN WAR TRADE, FALL IN PEACE TRADE

### PRINCIPAL EXPORTS

	1928	1939
<i>Total exports</i> .....	258,548	231,405
Raw Cotton .....	109,399	42,488
Wood and manufactures .....	15,636	2,858
Grains and preparations .....	12,202	(a)
Potassic fertilizer materials .....	6,025	2,137
Tobacco and manufactures .....	4,953	(a)
Petroleum and products .....	21,717	45,290
Iron and steel scrap .....	3,090	32,593
Copper .....	2,358	27,567
Metal-working machinery, power-driven .....	862	24,578
Autos and parts .....	6,118	6,420

### PRINCIPAL IMPORTS

<i>Total imports</i> .....	431,873	161,196
Raw silk .....	356,122	106,936
Silk fabrics .....	8,686	1,989
Cotton manufactures .....	3,156	4,235
Tea .....	5,152	3,304
Crabmeat, sauce and paste .....	5,030	3,765
China and porcelain, earthen and stoneware .....	5,335	3,040
Furs, undressed .....	4,217	984

(a) Unlisted among Principal Exports

Source: United States Department of Commerce

## AMERICA HOLDS THE KEY

American sympathies favor China. By diplomatic pronouncements, we have condemned the lawlessness and inhumanity of Japan's assault upon the Chinese people. But our economic strength, which counts in war, has been overwhelmingly on the side of Japan. For nearly three years, we have furnished the bulk of Japan's military supplies from abroad—supplies which she cannot, for the most part, obtain at home. For nearly three years, also, we have allowed to Japan an unrestricted American market for the sale of her goods, thus enabling her to secure the funds necessary for the purchase of further war supplies. The outbreak of war in Europe, by cutting off other sources of materials and other markets, has greatly accentuated Japan's economic dependence upon this country.

It is mainly for this reason that America holds the key in the Pacific today. Detailed figures are not yet available, but by conservative estimate Japan is now obtaining at least three-fourths of her essential imports of war materials from the United States. Many of these materials she cannot get in anything approaching sufficient quantities from other countries. Take, for example, high-grade steel, copper, and ferro-alloys, scrap iron, automotive equipment, munitions machinery, machine tools, machine parts, high-grade gasoline and lubricating oils, and especially aviation fuel for which Japan is now almost wholly dependent upon this country. All of these materials are essential to the balanced ration which a modern military machine requires. Without them, the Japanese Juggernaut would soon begin to stall. The chief advantage over the Chinese forces—superior mechanization—would be rapidly impaired.

It is true that Japan has taken pains to accumulate reserves of some of these essential war materials. But it is also true that shortages would be acutely felt as soon as sources of supply were cut off; for to use up reserves which could not be replenished would make Japan completely vulnerable.

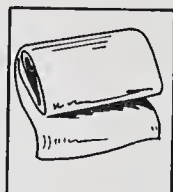
If the United States, therefore, should withhold from export her own resources now being used to inflict incalculable suffering and devastation in China, Japan's military position there would become increasingly untenable. She would soon have to seek a way out, involving abandonment of her far-reaching effort to subjugate the Chinese people.

Of equal importance, perhaps, is Japan's dependence upon the United States for foreign exchange. Her gold supply is approaching exhaustion. Only as she sells abroad can she buy materials to carry on the war.

# HOW JAPAN FINANCES WAR PURCHASES

In 1938

Japan exported to the U.S. \$131,820,000. Silk exports alone (\$83,651,000) furnished funds sufficient for the purchase of:



SILK EXPORTS  
\$83,750,000



PIG IRON, IRON &  
STEEL SCRAP  
\$26,921,000



COPPER  
\$22,146,000

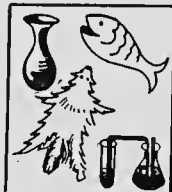


METAL WORKING MACH-  
INERY, POWER-DRIVEN  
\$23,614,000



AIRCRAFT  
& PARTS  
\$11,069,000

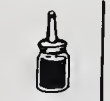
The balance of Japan's exports to the U.S. -  
\$48,169,000 - practically paid for  
purchases of:



CRUDE  
PETROLEUM  
\$29,956,000



GASOLINE  
\$7,713,000



LUBRICATING  
OIL  
\$2,614,000



AUTOS, TRUCKS,  
PARTS, ETC.  
\$10,142,000

And her great market is the United States of America. A partial or complete ban upon imports from Japan would reduce radically her purchasing power in all foreign countries. This would immediately affect Japan's capacity to continue the conflict, for imports which do not directly contribute to the conduct of the war have already been largely eliminated. A substantial reduction in foreign exchange would mean drastic curtailment in Japan's imports of war supplies.

A further factor in the position of the United States is her possession of large capital resources. Two loans, on a commercial basis, have already been extended to China for use in the restoration and maintenance of her economic life. Such credits to a friendly nation are normal, especially when previous loans are not in default. (China has already paid back over \$2,200,000 of the first \$25,000,000 credit extended to her.) Their moral effect is, in this case, as important as the relatively small material benefit which they have conferred upon an economy under the severe strain of war.

Because other nations with influence in the Pacific are now absorbed in the European conflict, only the United States is left with the power of initiative. That power carries with it enormous responsibility. For American policy during 1940 may well determine whether there shall emerge, across the Pacific, a long period of chaos and violence, or a great militaristic Japanese Empire, or an independent, friendly China advancing toward democracy.

The ending of our crucial support to Japan's program of conquest would not only mark a turning point in the Far Eastern conflict; it would contribute to the first great reverse, after a tragic decade, to the expanding forces of lawlessness and aggression. Mr. Henry L. Stimson has pointed out that "the influence of such action by our government would transcend even the great crisis in Asia. Throughout the broken, warring world of today it would show that this nation recognizes its responsibility for making efforts toward the restoration of law and order, and that wherever its peaceful influence can effectively be thrown it will be thrown on the side of independence and freedom and against militarized aggression."



“The plea of a tortured conscience”



By special permission, Hutton © The Philadelphia Inquirer

## AMERICA'S MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

America is not responsible for policing the world. But she is responsible for her own conduct and influence in the world. Never was that responsibility greater than it is today.

Millions of Americans can think only with shame and dismay of American-motored aeroplanes, fueled with American gasoline, dropping American metals to be blown into the bodies of Chinese men, women, and children who have traditionally regarded America as their best friend. And there is mounting indignation at the thought that we, who love freedom, should furnish such decisive help for its destruction elsewhere, and for the expanding sway of tyrannous force in the world.

Those who counsel against any move to restrict our war trade with Japan apparently ignore the fact that we are today Japan's great armorer, furnishing roughly three-fourths of the "sinews of war" which she must have from abroad in order to continue the effort to "beat China to her knees". We are "involved" up to the hilt, on the side of Japan.

The United States and Japan are, at the same time, obligated by specific treaty to respect China's sovereignty and independence. Are we to continue giving extensive assistance for the overt violation of that pledge?

There are those who maintain that the United States should remain on friendly terms with Japan. Certainly every honorable effort should be made to do so. But does friendship necessitate complicity in crime? Does friendship with Japan mean that we must support with our resources the brutal attempt to subjugate China, also a friendly nation? Is it a requirement of friendship that we must give up the right to regulate our own conduct, and in doing so violate every humane and decent instinct?

There are those who fear that the stoppage of war supplies to Japan might lead her to war against us. They never explain how Japan, exhausted by nearly three years of warfare against China, and dependent upon the United States for supplies and markets in order to carry on that conflict, could possibly wage war against us, or what she would hope to gain from it except disaster. Certainly the risks involved would be much less than those of continuing to bolster Japanese aggression. Even if there are risks, will it be said that because of fear we continued to support Japanese militarism and the destruction of China?

If Japan's military leaders are offended by America's refusal any longer to condone their policies, it will be our task to convince them that our good will is not of a quality to be controlled by threats and bribes; that it does, at the same time, make us ready, and indeed eager, to help in the restoration of a just peace, and in the positive task of reconstruction that lies ahead for both China and Japan.



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## A 1919 FORECAST

On Oct. 15, 1919 the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, then senior Senator from Massachusetts, made the following statement in the United States Senate:

"Such has been the course of Japan, steady, relentless, aiming to get ultimate control of the vast population and great territory of China. As it has been in the past, so will it be in the future in regard to Shantung. Japan is steeped in German ideas and regards war as an industry because from war she has secured all the extensions of her empire. She is a power armed and trained, confronted by an unarmed and peaceful people. She means to exploit China and build herself up until she becomes a power formidable to all the world. It is not merely that she will close the markets of China and obtain enormous commercial and economic advantages. She will use ultimately the practically unlimited man power of China for military purposes just as Germany and Austria used in their armies the man power of the 26,000,000 Slavs who were utterly opposed to German domination, to promote their schemes of conquest. . . ."

## AMERICA'S STAKE: POLITICAL

It is not easy to appreciate the magnitude of the struggle taking place in Asia today, or to estimate its full significance even for our own country. But since we are playing an important, even a decisive, role in the conflict, it behooves us, from the standpoint of our own national security, to consider the possible consequences of our action or inaction.

If we continue to support Japan with the war supplies which she needs, she may be able to prolong the struggle indefinitely, holding with superior equipment and mobility a large part of what she has won. This would mean a long period of chaos in China, with progressive impoverishment for both countries. Violent revolutionary forces, the products of oppression, would gain in force and dimensions.

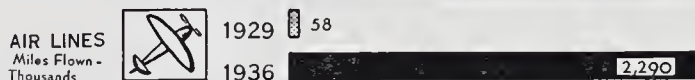
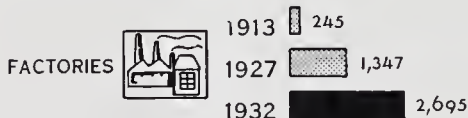
If we continue to furnish our markets and resources to Japan, she may, with this help, be able to consolidate her present position in China, and to gather strength for the next move. Should Japan ultimately gain political and economic dominance in China, defending that hold with an increasingly powerful navy, her Empire would still be far from the military self-sufficiency dear to the hearts of totalitarian rulers. The security of the Philippine Islands, and of the East Indian regions from which we draw indispensable supplies of rubber and tin and other valuable products, would be endangered. The United States would face increasing problems in connection with South America, North Pacific fisheries, Hawaii and Panama defenses, and our own markets. Our naval appropriations would soar. War, and a very grave war, would then threaten.

If we continue to arm Japan, China, in desperation, might turn increasingly, albeit reluctantly, toward Russia as an only friend, accepting help on Russia's terms. Japan's invasion, if long continued, will only strengthen, and not weaken, the forces in that direction. Asia might then be swung into the orbit of European conflict and alignments, with unpredictable consequences.

If, on the other hand, our government musters the decision and courage to stop arming Japan, the scales will turn heavily in China's favor. This would tend to discredit Japan's military rulers at home. Even more important, it would make increasingly sure the emergence of an independent China, and the restoration of a far more stable balance of power in Asia. The world's greatest open market for freedom—China—would have been preserved. The democratic trend of that great nation could then continue, and its cooperation, as an active force, in the building of a saner, more secure, and more cooperative world would be ensured.



# CHINA'S PROGRESS BEFORE THE INVASION



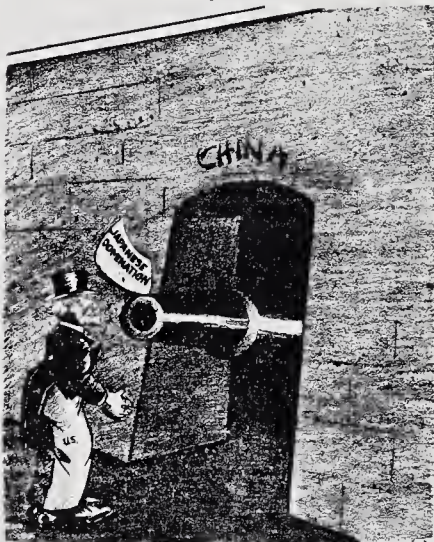
## AMERICA'S STAKE: ECONOMIC

Our export trade to Japan is increasingly of a destructive character. In 1939 more than 71 cents of every dollar's worth of materials purchased by Japan, and more than 90 cents of every dollar's worth bought by "Manchoukuo", went for war supplies. It was a bitter lesson of the World War that such a trade is unhealthy; that, instead of building prosperity and future purchasing power, it breeds depression. Valuable American resources are now entering into this transient and destructive trade. The immediate profits secured from this commerce are more than offset by losses in our peace-time trade with the Far East in raw cotton, industrial equipment, lumber, kerosene, paper, passenger automobiles, and the like. The longer the war continues, with American support, the greater the impoverishment and decline in purchasing power of both Japan and China, who have heretofore furnished us a trade comparable to that with all of South America combined. The best way to restore the prosperity and buying power of both nations is not by helping to prolong the war, but by helping to end it and to initiate a new era of reconstruction and healthy commerce in the Pacific area.

During the decade before 1937, China, despite the loss of Manchuria, her richest area, was making remarkable strides in every aspect of her national life. The present conflict has brought a new unity and a new awakening. The potentialities of trade, beneficial to every nation, with a free post-war China are incalculable. Thousands of miles of railway lines, tens of thousands of miles in new roads, tens or hundreds of thousands of automobiles, vessels for a coast-wise merchant marine, expansion of national airways and of communication systems, and the reestablishment of industries destroyed by the war and their extension throughout the interior provinces—all these are within the scope of probability once reconstruction in an independent, peaceful, and unified China gets under way. Such developments will contribute directly to the purchasing power of China's 400,000,000 and more people. This is the world's greatest potential market, wherein good will toward America is strong, from which we are now helping to exclude ourselves by supporting economically Japan's monopolistic aims. In doing so, we are helping also to set up a competitor that, through expropriation of resources and utilization of almost unlimited subsistence labor, may in time produce a mounting tide of cheap manufactures with which American industry, at American wage levels, could scarcely compete.

Furthermore, as we arm Japan with one hand, with the other we tax ourselves billions for naval armaments in defense against her. For each cent of profit, a dollar's loss! It hardly makes sense.

*The Open Door*



*Courtesy of The Washington Post*

**Embarrassments of Finger Pointing**



*Courtesy of The Christian Science Monitor*



*Courtesy of Lincoln Newspaper Features, Inc.*

**Chinese Puzzle—American Style**



*Courtesy of The New York Times*

**"Some Act"**

## SOME QUESTIONS

Thoughtful consideration of the problem of ending America's participation in Japanese aggression raises some further questions. The purpose of this section is not to deal with these questions exhaustively, but to suggest conclusions which seem reasonable, after careful study, in the light of recent history and of the facts now at our disposal.

*How much has already been accomplished toward stopping America's war trade with Japan?*

The "moral embargo" upon aeroplanes and equipment for the bombing of civilian populations has cut off less than 5 per cent of our total exports of essential war supplies to Japan. Denunciation of the commercial treaty with Japan cleared the way for further restrictions upon this trade. To date, however, Japan continues to enjoy practically full access to American supplies and markets.

*Can the "moral embargo" be extended to include other materials?*

It can be extended to other materials, such as aviation gasoline, employed in the bombing of civilian populations. It is questionable whether the State Department will wish to go further than this without legislative authorization.

*How much can be done through voluntary action on the part of manufacturers and merchants?*

A few firms have declined Japanese orders for war supplies rather than to aid and abet, economically, in the invasion of China. On moral grounds, they have relinquished the profits from such commerce. Others have defended the continuation of this trade on grounds that the question is one for government decision, and that for individual firms to give it up voluntarily would mean simply a transfer of orders to less scrupulous producers and exporters. For effective curtailment, government action is necessary.

*Upon what basis could the United States embargo war supplies to Japan?*

Upon the basis of America's obligation and right under the Nine Power Treaty. The obligation is to refrain from furnishing large and indispensable help for the violent assault upon China's sovereignty and independence, which we are pledged by treaty to respect. The right is a position for our nationals in China equal to that of nationals from all other countries.

*Would such an embargo be applied all at once?*

This depends upon whether legislation is discretionary or mandatory; there are several advantages in the former. Its moral effect in Japan would be great, even before the act was specifically applied. If allowed some discretion in applying the law, the State Department could take into account such important matters as timing, the



attitude of other countries, and the probable effect of particular restrictions upon both Japan and the United States. At the same time, a mandatory law, applied all at once, would be much preferable to continuing to arm Japan.

*Upon what ground could increased duties be levied upon imports from Japan?*

Upon the ground of constant violations of American trading rights, despite careful enumerations and repeated protests by our government. Increased American duties can be levied by Executive action.

*Would such restrictions upon imports from Japan injure her working people rather than her militarists?*

The greatest burden of the entire Japanese people today is the war against China. Nothing can contribute so much to a relief of that burden as an end of the war. The stopping of American assistance which tends only to prolong the conflict is one way in which real relief for the Japanese people can be realized. The funds now obtained through exports to the United States are used almost exclusively for the purchase of supplies with which to prosecute the war against China, and not for the real benefit of the Japanese people. Furthermore, the vastly greater suffering of the Chinese people, magnified directly by our war trade with Japan, should not be forgotten; they are the real victims of our present policy.

*Would restrictions upon American war trade with Japan really be an effective means toward ending the conflict?*

Except for a few commodities such as crude oil, Japan would have great difficulty in securing from other sources even a substantial portion of the war supplies which she now gets from the United States; many essential commodities—such as high-grade steel and ferro-alloys, copper, aviation gasoline and high-grade lubricating oil, automobiles and parts, munitions machinery and parts, and machine tools—she would be practically powerless to obtain except in very small quantities elsewhere. A reduction of our imports from Japan would immediately restrict her ability to buy war materials in any market. Once the overwhelming disadvantage in materials and equipment is removed, China may be expected to regain her sovereignty and freedom. The key to peace, and to China's independence, lies not in words, but in action to withhold America's positive help from Japan's militarists.

*Would the Japanese regard such action as unfriendly?*

There is evidence that an increasing number among the Japanese people would welcome any influence which helped to bring an end to the war. Such American action would doubtless be resented by Japan's military leaders and many of their followers even though it would be clearly based upon a treaty to which their country had voluntarily assented. With much greater reason, however, could the Chinese regard as "unfriendly" our continued extensive support to the military power which is devastating their country.

*What about the risk of war?*

The statement that "embargoes mean war" is frequently made by opponents of such action in relation to Japan. But when asked for historical illustrations, they

are nonplussed. Actually, long before the European conflict began, Russia, France, and even Australia, New Zealand and Indo-China had extensive restrictions upon their war trade with Japan; in no case did this lead to war. Russia, a traditional enemy, has given Japan far more serious provocation, yet Japan did not go to war against her.

Indeed, how could Japan, in her present state of exhaustion, after nearly three years of inconclusive warfare in China, and with her present dependence upon American markets and supplies, contemplate a war with a nation so powerful and so rich in resources as the United States of America? She can hardly carry on against China with American help; how could she fight both China and America without American help? Already she is suffering from shortages in labor, fuel, and foreign exchange. Even with a large fleet, where would she get the materials and money for a war against America? For Japan's military leaders to provoke such a conflict would only be to invite economic ruin at home and to precipitate their own fall as rulers of the nation. If we continue to sustain Japan, however, the situation may become very much more dangerous in the near future.

Of course no human situation is wholly predictable, and whatever degree of risk is involved should be faced. Threats and even incidents might conceivably follow such action. The temporary withdrawal of Americans from parts of occupied China might become necessary. The Japanese might possibly blockade ports of entry for China. It is believed, however, that the American people would then demonstrate the common sense, confidence, and restraint that such a transitional period might require. It is hardly conceivable that the relatively small risks in this case would prevent the American government from doing what an overwhelming majority of the people believed to be right, especially when the risks of inaction are much greater.

It may be expected that Japan's reaction to a just and firm policy will, as in the past, be more constructive than her response to a timid policy of mere words, interpreted by her military leaders as a sign of weakness and fear.

### *Would Japan attack the Dutch East Indies?*

Possession of these islands, "the treasure house of the Pacific", has long been a factor in Japanese calculations. The question of an attempted occupation is probably one of timing, not in relation to American trade policies, but in relation to Japan's total strategic situation. If Holland becomes involved in Europe, the security of these islands will be jeopardized. The stronger Japan feels in China, and the more she believes that other nations are too afraid or too occupied elsewhere to object, the more likely will an attempt to appropriate the islands become. American support to Japan now only increases this likelihood. At present, the risks of involvement, the heavy cost of such an undertaking, and the precarious situation in China are deterring factors for Japan.

### *Would Japan make an alliance with Soviet Russia?*

Such an alliance at the expense of China is improbable. Traditional disputes—over boundaries, fisheries, timber and oil in Northern Sakhalin—have never been resolved. More important, the Russians know that one of Japan's chief motives for attacking North China was to cut communications between Russia and China and to obtain a route through Mongolia by which she could be in a position to strike at the strategic Lake Baikal region and thus sever communications between European Russia and eastern Siberia. Russia would hardly care to make concessions to Japan in North China now, especially when Japan's forces, weakened by the China war,

offer no real threat to themselves. The Japanese, on the other hand, could scarcely be expected to withdraw from their present position in North China simply for the sake of a Russian pact, nor do they wish to see Russia grow stronger in Vladivostok and the rest of eastern Siberia. The Japanese might use the threat of a Russian alliance as a means of exacting concessions from Britain and France, but there appears to be no real foundation for a genuine rapprochement between Japan and Russia now. This conclusion is reinforced by the failure of recent conversations between the two countries. At the same time, there is evidence that substantial Soviet aid to China is being continued.

### *Would Great Britain and France "sell out" China?*

Hardly to the extent of supporting Japan. How far, during the European conflict, these powers may yield to Japanese pressure, at China's expense, may depend largely upon the United States. Their position will be progressively weakened if, as the European conflict continues, Japan, with continued American help, succeeds in strengthening her present insecure position in China, and in restoring her economic equilibrium at home. American influence, so decisive in this situation, cannot be evaded by simply shifting all responsibility to others. If the situation is not to grow steadily worse, our peaceful influence needs to be transferred from the side of aggression to that of treaty observance and a restoration of China's independence, with full recognition of the great stabilizing effect that this would have upon relations in Asia and in the whole Pacific area. The British and French, with public opinion opposed to Japan, with their strong desire to retain American good will, and with their own Far Eastern interests at stake, would not be likely to adopt measures in opposition to such an affirmative American policy.

### *Would it be safer for America simply to "sit tight" and "do nothing"?*

It is usually easier to weigh the risks of action than it is to weigh the risks of inaction. Yet the history of the last decade furnishes repeated illustrations of the truth that timid inaction, instead of "appeasing" aggression, may actually encourage it. When fires are spreading, "sitting tight" may not be the safest course.

In the case of Japan, an American policy of firm words but little affirmative action would not be so serious if we were actually "doing nothing". But the fact is that our economic strength, which really counts in war, is still overwhelmingly on the side of Japan, despite all of our popular sympathies and diplomatic pronouncements. Drift and indecision mean a steady continuation of this dangerous situation.

And why is it dangerous? Because with continued American help, Japan may succeed in consolidating another great step toward her ambition to dominate Asia and the Western Pacific. Continued support to Japan may mean the loss of a friendly, developing, independent China as a great factor in world peace and in the security of all nations around the Pacific. The more America follows a timid policy, as far as action is concerned, the more other nations, involved in a life and death struggle in Europe, will be tempted to abandon their own efforts to resist Japan's far-reaching program of conquest.

Firmness, courage, and a sense of justice in determining our own conduct may prove far less hazardous in the end than a frightened policy of immediate expediency. Those who insist, rightly, that the possible consequences of any action should be weighed, should face also the necessity of weighing the far more serious consequences that may result from inaction—from a lack of the moral stamina required to remove ourselves from the role of "Japan's partner".

*Should we run the risk of offending our third best customer?*

There is no darker blemish upon America's good name today than the fact that, for profit, we are supporting economically Japan's ruthless assault upon the people of China. The "dirty money" thus received should rest heavily upon the consciences of those who accept it.

There is also, however, an economic answer to this question that is becoming increasingly clear to business men. The difficulties of international trade today are due in considerable measure to the very lawlessness, military aggressiveness, and ultra-nationalistic trade practices that have characterized Japan's foreign policy and that of a few other nations during recent years. Only as confidence and morality between nations are restored can our own foreign trade be reestablished on sure foundations. The worst that we can do in our own interest now is to continue supporting economically the very policies that are destroying the fabric of international order and cooperation. Furthermore, Japan's capacity to purchase American goods is shrinking, and will continue to shrink so long as the present conflict is prolonged—with American help. The way to restore Japan's market, and China's, is not by helping to extend the war, but by helping to end it. Then, with reconstruction ahead, a healthy, peaceful trade with both countries can develop, to the benefit of all concerned. And the enormous burden of armaments can be reduced.

*Would an embargo on war supplies to Japan injure our cotton export trade?*

Pending legislation for the curbing of war exports to Japan exempts agricultural products, including cotton, from such restrictions. In a sense, we have already injured our cotton trade by helping to prolong a war that has cut our cotton exports to Japan and China by more than half. Further declines are inevitable as the war continues. Moreover, it is the avowed aim of Japan to develop in China the culture of "American" grades of cotton in order to become independent of American supplies. A sound basis for an upswing in cotton exports to the Far East will come with the restoration of a free China and, in both countries, relief from the burdens of war and a gradual rise again in living standards and purchasing power.

*Will there be a "way out" for Japan, if she fails in China?*

There will be, as soon as she shows that her aggressive, militaristic policies have been abandoned. During the last world war, Japan made notable gains in domestic production and peaceful foreign trade; the opportunity to do so again should facilitate the difficult transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy. The advantages of mutually beneficial trade with China will be available again as soon as China is assured of respect as an equal. Once it becomes clear that the Japanese have abandoned military aggression as an instrument of national policy, the American people would almost certainly be ready to help with the difficult problems of reconstruction faced by the people of Japan, as well as with those faced by the people of China.

**Public Opinion**

Do you think our government should forbid the sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline and other war materials to Japan?

Yes—75%

No—25%

(Nation-wide Gallup Poll, February 1940)



## FROM THE PRESS OF THE NATION

Unless we curb our exports of strategic commodities to Japan, we shall remain in the preposterous situation of having condemned Japanese aggression and yet continued to cooperate fully with Japan's war by supplying over half her imported war requirements. This is an undignified, immoral, and short-sighted role, and we ought to bring it to an end. (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, Jan. 1940)

When it seems so very certain that the victory of Japanese arms in China will lead swiftly to a war in the Pacific that will cost us many billions, it also seems absurd that this country should go on supplying that army with most of the gasoline that makes its bombings possible and keeps its tanks, armored cars, trucks and motorized artillery in action, most of the metals that go into its ammunition, most of the machine tools that turn out shells and guns, a lot of the leather on which the Japanese soldiery marches and repair parts for all kinds of engine machines. (*New York Herald Tribune*, Dec. 1939)

Why, it is being asked on every side, without a satisfactory answer, should American industries continue to supply the Japanese with scrap iron and steel, with copper, oil, gasoline and other materials equally essential to waging one of the most atrociously uncivilized wars in all history? Is it not past time to put a stop to this unspeakably horrible traffic? (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 1940)

If Japan persists in her crime in China the United States should give Tokyo to understand that we will have no part in it. It is unquestionably to our interest to break the stranglehold that Japan has on the Orient by every practical, pacific, economic and financial means within our power. (*Salt Lake City Desert News*, Feb. 1940)

From a selfish American point of view, the ultimate value of a free Chinese

market offers far greater advantages than trade prospects with the Japanese. (*Indianapolis Star*, Mar. 1940)

The best way to implement our diplomacy just now would be to clamp a war materials embargo on Japan, as a means of squeezing the already weakened Japanese military caste out of China and maybe off the backs of the Japanese people. (*New York Daily News*, Mar. 1940)

Had we refused to supply Japan with a virtually unlimited amount of scrap metal, it is almost certain that that country could not have prosecuted its ruthless campaign in China. We have, under the cloak of neutrality, not only made it possible for "our next probable enemy" to obtain essential materials for war against one of our friends but have at the same time cut seriously into our own supply of materials that would be urgently needed if we were confronted with a sudden emergency. (*Washington, D. C., Post*, Feb. 1939)

It is the moral duty of our Government to institute an embargo against Japan insofar as war materials are concerned. We believe this should have been done long ago. (*Charleston, S. C., Gazette*, Jan. 1939)

The shipment of scrap iron for replenishment of Japanese armaments is repugnant to the conscience of our people. (*Seattle Post Intelligencer*, Mar. 1939)

It is time to take ourselves out of the role of accessory to crime. (*The New York Times*, July 1939)

Americans are not only increasingly indignant over affronts to their rights in China; they are increasingly aware of the American stake in an orderly world. (*Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 1940)

*The above excerpts are only samples of American editorial comment, selected from among hundreds of forceful statements which might equally well have been chosen. A recent study of editorials from nearly 500 representative U.S. newspapers revealed between 70 and 80 per cent as favoring governmental action to curb U.S. war trade with Japan.*

## AN AFFIRMATIVE POLICY

There are two principal methods by which the United States can check the extensive aid now being furnished by this country to Japan's military program.

1. **Through legislation.** Bills for this purpose have already been introduced by Senators Pittman and Schwollenbach, members of the Foreign Relations Committee, and by Congressmen Eaton (N. J.), Wallgren (Wash.), Izac (Cal.), Coffee (Wash.), and Allen (Pa.).

The Pittman bill (S.J. Res. 123) provides that whenever the President shall find that any foreign state which is a party to the Nine Power Pact, is endangering the lives of citizens of the United States, or depriving such citizens of their legal rights and privileges in violation of the express provisions and guaranties in said treaty, the President is authorized to restrict or prohibit the export to such foreign state of arms, ammunition, implements of war, iron, steel, oil, gasoline, scrap-iron, scrap-steel, and scrap-metal.

The Schwollenbach bill (S.J. Res. 143) provides that there shall be denied export to all merchandise, munitions, etc. (except agricultural products) which there is reason to believe will be used in violation of the sovereignty and independence of any nation whose sovereignty and independence the United States is obligated by treaty to respect; that the President shall issue proclamations specifying the articles and materials to be denied export whereupon it shall become unlawful to export or attempt to export such articles or materials.

It will be noted that these bills are based upon American rights and obligations under the Nine Power Treaty, and that they would apply to other nations equally insofar as the terms of this treaty are concerned.

2. **Through Executive action.** The President is empowered, under the Tariff Act, to place additional duties upon any or all imports and upon shipping from a nation which sets up illegal discriminatory restrictions upon American trade. The nature and extent of such restrictions employed by Japan have been set forth in official communications to the Japanese government, without apparent effect. Under these circumstances, the President can place additional duties upon imports from Japan. Denunciation of the commercial treaty between the United States and Japan has paved the way for such action.

Such a course, followed during a transitional period, would rest on solid grounds of justice under law, and of America's own best interests. It would leave China free to achieve her own independence, which she doubtless can and will do against an unaided Japan. No outcome could contribute more to the peace and well-being of all Pacific nations.

## FOR AN ENDURING PEACE

Never have Americans looked beyond the seas with deeper concern than today. For a decade we have witnessed the breakdown of treaties, the invasion of weaker nations, the ominous increase of armaments. Now two continents are locked in conflict, and we see, more than ever before, the mobilization of whole peoples, with the submergence of their ordinary life—their activities, thought, freedoms, and aspirations—to the grim requirements of nations engaged in a life and death struggle.

With this picture has come the disquieting thought that if forces of lawlessness gain the ascendancy elsewhere, there will be little on which to build a future peace. Indifference on our part would be impossible. Facing a world of hostile camps, we would impose upon ourselves a much more staggering burden of armaments which of themselves would reduce our prosperity and shorten the spaces that now divide us from the areas of conflict. We too would experience the restraints, and the losses of freedom, incurred by nations that are girding seriously for possible combat in the world of today. Is there nothing that we can do now, while keeping the peace ourselves, to prevent the coming of such a day?

Americans have never thought more realistically or more honestly about the problems of peace than now. There is a growing and disturbing realization that if we had done our part better, heretofore, in the building of peace, the world might not be where it is today. Many persons are asking whether there is any way, even now, in which America can exert its peaceful influence more effectively on the side of law and freedom and cooperation, and against ruthless military aggression.

In the Pacific, American influence and responsibility are now paramount. There exists an opportunity, which may not come again, to help terminate the present stalemate in China, and to cooperate then in the building of a more equitable and enduring peace in "half the world". What are the necessary foundations for such a peace? They may be variously stated; by thoughtful study and negotiation, their details can be delineated. Four basic elements are believed to be essential.

1. **The ending of Japanese aggression.** This will become a reality when American help to Japan is stopped. We may not feel—with good reason—that it is our responsibility to stop Japan. But we cannot escape the responsibility that is now ours for arming Japan, and for thus preventing China from resisting more decisively Japan's military aggression.

2. **The restoration of an independent China.** It has been well said that China can regain her independence against Japan alone, but that she may not be able to do so against a Japan backed by the economic

resources of the United States of America. A free and friendly China, progressing internally and disposed to cooperate with other peace-loving nations, is a factor of inestimable importance in the restoration of security, and in the reestablishment of international relations in the Pacific area.

**3. A new and better machinery for peace.** This presents difficult problems, but the alternative is a return to international anarchy. Much has been learned during the last twenty-five years. It is clear that an imposed or vengeful peace, unfair to any nation concerned, is impermanent; that effective safeguards against future aggression are necessary; that channels for the equitable settlement of disputes are essential; and that means must be provided for overdue or urgently needed changes by peaceful methods. Most of all, there needs to be a restoration of confidence, and good will, and friendly economic and cultural intercourse between the nations concerned. The essential problems of eastern Asia and the Pacific are not as difficult or involved as those of Europe. The United States, in a spirit not of exploitation but of cooperation among equals, has an unexcelled opportunity to extend the Good Neighbor policy toward other great nations of the Pacific area.

**4. The development of economic cooperation.** Political peace without economic peace is illusory. With the end of war, both China and Japan will face exceedingly difficult problems. They must be helped in making adjustments involved in shifting to a peace economy, and in initiating broad efforts toward reconstruction. They must be assured of access to resources needed for their economic life, and to markets essential to the development of their industries and trade. The United States can help through public and private credits (utilizing, perhaps, some of our enormous gold stocks for this purpose), through new commercial treaties with both countries providing for mutually beneficial trade relations, and through the encouragement of like treaties between China and Japan, and between both nations and other Pacific powers. By whatever specific methods may be deemed best, the United States will have the opportunity, once the war is ended, to contribute its responsible and significant share toward the increasing prosperity and well-being of Asia and the Americas.

But for this it is essential that we take the first step of making it possible for China to end the war and to bring about the first great check to aggression in a decade, by ourselves foregoing the sordid profits from our war trade with Japan. Only then can there emerge the necessary foundations for a just and lasting peace in the Pacific.



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**T**HE question—"Shall America Stop Arming Japan?"—is one for the American people to decide. No issue is more important, or more urgent, in our foreign relations today. The government will act when the people demand it in unmistakable terms.

Here are concrete suggestions for the individual who is prepared to do his part in a nation-wide democratic movement to end America's support to Japanese aggression. Every genuine action counts. Help make your own democracy work.

## **What One Person Can Do**

### **Toward Ending America's Arming of Japan**

1. Order and distribute widely copies of this booklet and other literature designed to make the facts known.
2. Write your own views, frankly and clearly, to the President, the Secretary of State, your two Senators, and your Congressman. (Address each: Hon. ....  
Washington, D. C. Correct names can be secured by a telephone call to your local Board of Elections.)
3. Bring the question to the attention of your friends, and invite them to write also.
4. Cooperate with others, through existing civic, business, religious, and social organizations or a special committee, in seeing that the question is brought before public gatherings, local radio audiences, and the readers of your own newspapers.
5. Contribute to the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, which invites the cooperation of all and which depends entirely upon voluntary gifts for the effective conduct of its nation-wide program of education and publicity. Funds are urgently needed for the extension of this work. Full information, including suggestions for further cooperation, will be furnished gladly upon request.



## SHOULD THE UNITED STATES "APPEASE" JAPAN?

With the steadily increasing gravity of the situation in Europe, the demand has been made that we patch up our differences with Japan in the hope that this would free us from any possible involvement in the Pacific as the outlook in the Atlantic becomes more and more serious. The argument is that if we make friends with Japan we can safeguard our "back door" while preparing for possible eventualities elsewhere. If the policy advocated had a real chance of success, one might maintain that it was warranted in view of the extreme gravity of the situation in Europe. But thoughtful analysis shows, we believe, that there are dangerous fallacies in such a policy of attempted appeasement now.

(a) A patched-up peace with Japan could mean only one thing: a condoning and support of Japan's aggression against China. That is the only real issue between Japan and the U.S. Except for American exports of some war materials, Japan now enjoys most-favored-nation treatment in her trade with the United States. A new conciliatory treaty could only mean the furnishing, on an assured and liberal basis, of war supplies to be used against China, combined perhaps with some recognition of Japan's gains by treaty violation and force. We should seek friendly relations with Japan, but not by betraying China, or abandoning our own principles.

(b) It would be a complete reversal of our historic policies in the Pacific and would be interpreted by the Japanese as a sign of fear. Just as the agreement at Munich, at the expense of Czecho-Slovakia, made Hitler more bold and increased his prestige at home, just so would American concessions to Japan, at the expense of China, increase the confidence and arrogance of Japan's military leaders, and strengthen their hold upon the Japanese people. Far from increasing our own security in the Pacific, such action would greatly lessen it. With America "scuttling", nothing in Asia or the Pacific would be secure.

(c) Recent experience furnishes no assurance that any pledges made by Japan's military leaders, in return for commercial privileges, would be respected, or that they would fail to take advantage of situations that might develop.

(d) Any such agreement, which would in effect "sell China down the river", would greatly jeopardize Chinese good-will for the United States for many years to come; it would tend to make the Chinese people, and the people of other nations, wholly cynical with regard to any moral principles underlying American foreign policy.

(e) If we stop helping Japan now, the tide of conflict will very probably turn in favor of China soon, and a great bulwark for future peace and democracy in Asia will have been preserved.

(f) If, on the other hand, we choose this moment when Japan is relatively weak and exhausted to build her up again through liberal trade concessions, we shall have only ourselves to thank for the successful establishment of a vast ambitious and ruthless totalitarian regime in Asia, cooperating in many ways with those in Europe against our own security and well-being.

Reproduced on the other side of this sheet are brief illustrations of the developing public debate on this question.



### "How to Double the Fleet in a Week"

(Argument contained in Chicago Tribune editorial, as summarized by the N.Y. Daily News)

".... Might it not be intelligent for this Government to warm up to Japan in the matter of stabilizing trade relations, which have been proceeding on a day-to-day basis since we abrogated the Commerce and Navigation Treaty last Jan. 26?.... If we keep on reproving Japan for what it is trying to do in China....we may drive Japan into the German-Italian camp. That would make Japan more dangerous to us than it now is. If Hitler should win the war, and especially if he should grab the British Navy as one of the spoils of such a victory, we might easily find ourselves menaced with urgent trouble in the Atlantic and the Pacific at the same time. We can avert this by making friends with Japan - which has made many gestures for a renewal of the trade treaty. The net result would be as summarized in the above quoted title. We would gain a powerful friend in the Far East, and would in effect double the strength of our fleet." (N.Y. Daily News, June 3, 1940)

### "Deal with Japan"

"Talk of the desirability of a deal with Japan is spreading through the Middle West, stimulated by the Chicago Tribune and followed up by other oracles. The idea is that, to prevent the totalitarian powers from ganging up on us, we should detach Japan and make an ally of her. Then, if it became necessary to face Germany, we should have Japan a loyal friend at our back.

"If we are taken in by that argument we will have learned nothing from the disastrous experience of Britain. It amounts to a proposal for appeasement. The proposition is the product of fear... Don't think that a deal with Japan would not be recognized as a tip-off to all Latin America....that the third great democracy was also on the run... of course, the idea of a deal with Japan is stated in neat, seemingly safe terms. So was Munich. Yet Munich turned the balance fatally against the Allies. Everything since has been inevitable sequel.... We want none of the false sense of security that a deal with Japan would give us." (Raymond Clapper, N. Y. World-Telegram, June 13, 1940)

### "How to Double the Fleet in a Week"

"... What we are suggesting is merely that the United States adopt a realistic policy about Japan in a time when this country is in danger. There is no sense in blinking the fact that we are in danger.... We hope the Allies may yet win, but we are not at all sure they will. If they lose, and if Hitler gets a large part or all of the British Navy, in the same fashion that Britain got the German Navy in 1918, we may soon find ourselves or our Monroe Doctrine or both, seriously threatened by Hitler's ambitions.... We had better do two things: (1) Give up any notion of imitating present-day British diplomacy, and (2) try, by patching up things with Japan, to head off a possible German-Russian-Italian-Japanese gang-up against us." (N. Y. Daily News, June 4, 1940)

### "A Deal with Japan?"

"We can understand the sudden alarm of our New York namesake. But we think the idea is as illusory as it is dangerous. In the first place, Britain is in its present plight, not because it bungled with Italy and Russia, but because, instead of standing firm, it weakened on every occasion and tried to slip by with 'appeasement.' In the second place, we have already made a deal with Japan. We had a deal with Japan. And now where is it?.... In order to make a deal with Japan today, we would have to condone, openly or covertly, its treaty-breaking invasions of China. We would have to betray not only our Chinese friends, but also more than a hundred years of American policy in the Far East. We would be imitating, in effect, the worst and most dangerous aspects of Britain's 'appeasement' efforts." (Chicago Daily News, June 10, 1940)

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NON-PARTICIPATION IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION  
8 West 40th Street  
New York, N. Y.

June 17, 1940

To All Friends and Cooperating Groups:

There is important progress to report to you, and urgent work that needs to be done now. Won't you take the 10 minutes needed to read this message thoroughly - and then act!

Progress

Our legislative hurdle is passed, thanks very largely to your sustained effort and support during the past year. Congress is giving to the Administration discretionary power which it can use to curtail or prohibit the export of war supplies to Japan.

Here, from our standpoint, is the story in its final stages: In early May, sentiment in Washington was increasingly favorable toward our objectives, but practical political obstacles still existed. On May 10, the day Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg were invaded, representatives of our Committee broached to Senate and Administration leaders the question of a measure, broader than previously introduced resolutions, which would empower the President, in the interest of national security and defense, to prohibit or curtail exports of war materials from the United States, discretion being allowed with regard to time and geographical area of such restrictions. The suggestion was well received. After conference, such a measure in identical language was incorporated in defense resolutions under consideration in both Houses of Congress.

With full Administrative backing and evident majority support in Congress, we did not think it necessary to ask for your active backing at this juncture, though we were ready to do so at any moment if it became advisable. In a sense, your work and ours for such legislation was done, and sudden popular demand on this particular section of a bill might have aroused some needless opposition. Favorable action was taken by the House of Representatives (H.R. 9850) on May 22, and by the Senate, with a slight clarifying amendment to the section in which we are interested, on June 11. There was no dissenting vote in the Senate, and only one in the House. The Conference Committee made no change in the embargo provision. After final ratification, the bill will go to the President for signature. The Section referred to (Section 6) is as follows:

Whenever the President determines that it is necessary in the interest of national defense to prohibit or curtail the exportation of any military equipment or munitions, or component parts thereof, or machinery, tools, or material or supplies necessary for the manufacture, servicing, or operation thereof, he may by proclamation prohibit or curtail such exportation, except under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe. Any such proclamation shall describe the articles or materials included in the prohibition or curtailment contained therein. In case of the violation of any provision of any proclamation, or of any rule or regulation, issued hereunder, such violator or violators, upon conviction, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000, or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment. The authority granted in this Act shall terminate June 30, 1942, unless the Congress shall otherwise provide.

Explanation and discussion on the Senate floor made it perfectly clear that the law could be applied to one country and not to another in a given situation, and that it covers scrap iron, gasoline and oil.



In a Nutshell

This means that, despite tremendous public preoccupation with the deepening crisis in Europe and the increasing chance of United States involvement there, Congress has, with Administration support, given effect at last to steady and increasing public demand that the President be given the power to curtail American war exports to Japan or other aggressor states in the interest of our own national defense. A clear-cut moral basis for the action would have been more satisfying to many, but this flexibility in method and wording was essential to the realization of our objective - stopping America's arming of Japan. Your work has been a prime factor in this important legislation, for its initial impetus came from the consistent public demand that war exports to Japan should be stopped. By proclamation, or by extension of the moral embargo principle (supported now by legal authority), the President can now prevent the export of further key materials of war to Japan, as he has recently done in the case of machine tools. This greatly simplifies our problem. No longer is it necessary to urge 531 members of Congress to act; it is only to selected members of the Administration that we need now to furnish strong evidence of continuing support for a progressive stoppage of war supplies to Japan.

Request for Action

What further action is now needed? May we urge your very careful consideration of the following recommendations? If you agree, will you carry them out promptly and, where possible, ask some of your friends to do the same?

(1) Write to each of the following:

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, D. C. (My dear Mr. President:)  
 Hon. Cordell Hull, Washington, D. C. (My dear Mr. Secretary:)  
 Hon. Louis Johnson, Asst. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. (My dear Sir:)  
 Hon. Charles Edison, Washington, D. C. (My dear Mr. Secretary:)  
 (When a new Secretary of the Navy is appointed, write to him also.)  
 Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., National Defense Council,  
 Washington, D. C. (My dear Sir:)

commending steps taken to date and urging that, while engaged in helping the Allies to stop Hitler, we do not continue to build up another and perhaps equally dangerous militaristic totalitarian power in Asia and the Western Pacific. Say to the President that you would warmly support his use of the power now given him by Congress to bring about a stoppage of our war exports to Japan. Urge the others in the above list to support such action by the President. Please do this now!

(2) Watch for, and combat by letters and other effective means at your command, the argument now cropping up to the effect that we should "appease Japan" in the hope that this will safeguard our "back door" in the Pacific during the present world crisis. This argument has the appeal of simplicity, but careful analysis shows it to be illusory and dangerous. (See the enclosure.)

(3) If you agree, will you also write to the Hon. Norman H. Davis, Chairman of the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C., urging that a fair portion (say 10 per cent) of funds now being collected or allocated for civilian relief abroad be sent to China, where the extent of devastation and of human agony and desolation is utterly appalling in its magnitude in consequence of three years of ruthless warfare. American relief funds to China have thus far been pitifully small in comparison with the burden of suffering among 50,000,000 refugees - suffering as poignant as that among the stricken civilian populations of Europe today.

You have carried us this far - now, let's see it through!

Roger S. Greene  
 Chairman

Harry B. Price  
 Executive Secretary

# *Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies*

*National Headquarters*

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HUGH MOORE  
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*Director*

June 20, 1940

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James Byrne  
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O. C. Carmichael

*(Committee List  
Continued on Reverse)*

To the Members of the National Committee and  
Chairmen of the Local Committees of the Committee  
to Defend America by Aiding the Allies:

Mr. White and his advisers are having an important meeting tomorrow from which new suggestions will be forthcoming for the program of the Committee, which should reach you the first of the week. In the meantime, however, I want to write you this brief summary of accomplishments of our program to date and to suggest certain points of emphasis.

The material aid which we wished the United States to give the Allies divides itself into material from our Army and Navy and surplus food stuffs, and material which must come from the acceleration of American industry.

I enclose a memorandum which has been prepared by our Washington office, listing some of the material which has gone, principally from American armed forces, to the Allies. We cannot vouch for these figures and there are probably errors on the side of conservatism. At best it will be seen however that the supplies that have gone are not very large. The conclusion to be drawn is that we must continue to support aiding the Allies with whatever material can be spared from our armed forces without weakening the power of national defense.

The issue at the moment centers around American naval ships for Great Britain. The Government has just released to the manufacturers for sale to Great Britain twenty torpedo boats and submarine chasers soon to be completed. The Navy has on hand about a hundred and forty destroyers of twenty years of age. The British would like to purchase as many of these as possible. You have seen from the press that certain members of Congress are condemning the sale of the twenty submarine chasers and torpedo boats and that legislation has even been introduced in the House to prohibit the sale of any ships without the consent of Congress.

We believe that a large part of the hundred and forty old destroyers could be returned to the builders for sale to the British without weakening our national defense, and we believe that the members of the Committee should make it clear to the President that they support him in the transfer of the twenty ships and any others, and should make it clear to Congress that



(Continuation of Committee List)

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Gerard Nollen  
John J. O'Brien  
Robert Lincoln O'Brien  
Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham  
William R. Oliver  
Eugene O'Neill  
Rt. Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam  
John F. O'Ryan  
Rt. Rev. Herman Page  
Marion Edwards Park  
Alice N. Parker  
Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons  
Edward Smith Parsons  
James G. Patton  
Brock Pemberton  
Paul Pennoyer  
Rt. Rev. James DeW. Perry  
Lewis Perry  
William Lyon Phelps  
Mrs. John M. Philips  
Nathaniel Phillips  
W. W. Pierson  
Gifford Pinchot  
Lt. Col. Washington Platt  
John Plyler  
Clarence Poe  
Charles Poletti  
Frank L. Polk  
Channing Pollock  
Willard Pope  
C. Scott Porter  
Ord Preston  
Walter W. Price  
Elinor K. Purves  
Payne Ratner  
Rabbi Joseph Rauch  
Conyers Read  
Dr. Augustus Reccord  
Robert L. Reed  
Caroline Ruutz Rees  
O. L. Reid  
F. D. G. Ribble  
Ben Rich  
Rt. Rev. E. G. Richardson  
A. M. Robinson  
John L. Roemer  
Lindsey Rogers  
Dr. W. E. Rollins  
Frederick W. Roman  
Elihu Root, Jr.  
Daniel Roper  
Chester H. Rowell  
Mrs. Henry Rowland  
George Rublee  
Mrs. George Rublee  
The Very Rev. John A. Ryan  
Alexander Sachs  
Carl L. Sackett  
George St. John  
Mrs. B. M. Saltonstall  
Mrs. Harry G. Samson  
Ralph E. Samuel  
Oliver J. Sands  
W. T. Sanger  
Mrs. Lewis G. Sargent  
William Jay Schieffelin  
Bernadotte E. Schmitt  
Walter Dill Scott  
Frederick L. Schuman  
Cornelius D. Scully  
Samuel Seabury  
Ellery Sedgwick  
Laurens Seelye  
Charles Seymour  
Henry D. Sharpe  
John H. Sherman  
Rt. Rev. Henry K. Sherrill  
Robert Emmet Sherwood  
James T. Shotwell  
Harper Sibley  
Kenneth C. M. Sills  
Cornelia Otis Skinner  
Mrs. F. Louis Slade  
Maxwell A. Smith  
Rufus D. Smith  
DeWitt S. Snell  
Sidney B. Snow  
H. B. Snyder  
Henry N. Snyder  
Dr. Robert E. Speer  
Eugene Staley  
Harold Stanley  
Mrs. H. D. Stark  
Roy M. Sterne  
Dorothy Stimson  
Henry L. Stimson  
Marshall Stimson  
Rt. Rev. Ernest M. Stires  
Ernest L. Stockton  
Benjamin Stolberg  
Dr. Gustav Stolper  
Dr. Thomas A. Storey  
Mrs. Thomas A. Storey  
Clarence Streit  
Lloyd Paul Stryker  
Frederick Sullens  
Wilbur J. Sundelson  
Willis Sutton  
Mrs. Raymond Gram Swing  
Gerard Swope  
Herbert Bayard Swope  
J. Frederick Talcott  
Booth Tarkington  
Lucy E. Textor  
Sidney St. F. Thaxter  
Mrs. Maynard F. Thayer  
Corcoran Thom  
S. Seymour Thomas  
C. Mildred Thompson  
Huston Thompson  
George R. Throop  
Henry W. Toll  
Lamar Tooze  
Gene Tunney  
Harold Urey  
Mrs. John C. Urquhart  
Clifton M. Utley  
William H. Vanderbilt  
Henry P. Van Dusen  
Oswald Veblen  
George E. Vincent  
Rufus B. von KleinSmid  
Tom Wallace  
Sarah Wambough  
J. Skottowe Wannamaker  
Rt. Rev. John C. Ward  
Allen Wardwell  
Schuyler Warren  
Robert J. Watt  
Mary Watters  
W. W. Waymack  
Charles A. Webb  
Richard Welling  
Guy H. Wells  
Florence Donnel White  
Henry S. White  
John Hay Whitney  
Marian P. Whitney  
Walter F. Willcox  
Wythe Williams  
F. M. Huntington Wilson  
Rt. Rev. Frank E. Wilson  
Rt. Rev. John D. Wing  
Mrs. Morgan Wing  
Dr. Stephen S. Wise  
John Perry Wood  
Archie S. Woods  
Alexander Woolcott  
Mary E. Woolley  
Mary J. Workman  
Quincy Wright  
Henry W. Wriston

(Committee in process of formation)

they do not wish this policy ham-strung by legislation.

Consider the case of Britain, Germany will make every effort to starve the British Isles. English sources of food from the Scandinavian countries and Holland have been cut off and her food must come from the New World. At any moment a flock of German transports, protected by bombing planes, will make an effort to land and conquer the British Isles. These destroyers, submarine chasers and torpedo boats may be of the greatest help to Britain in protecting her food supplies and in resisting invasion.

It is very important that the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies fight defeatism. There are certain people who, because they are defeated or because they are anti-British, would abandon the British Empire with a gesture, and say that we should concentrate only on the defense of our shores. The policy of our Committee is that wherever men are fighting the battle of human freedom, that is the first line of American defense. We have faith in the determination of the British to resist and if they are able to resist successfully they will be doing what has been urged -- keeping the war away from America.

Britain also needs planes. Some people have asked us if our first objectives had already been accomplished. We say they have not. We urge that more airplanes from our armed forces be rushed for the defense of the British Isles and that as many old ships as possible be spared.

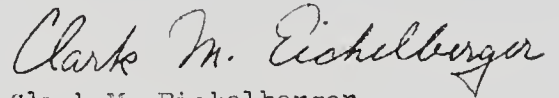
The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies has been too busy doing its job to boast, but I think that we are entitled to say that we have been successful in making vocal the overwhelming public opinion of this country in favor of helping the Allies. The task is far from accomplished. It has just begun. And consequently we urge you to expand your committee, to elaborate your organization, to promote new committees in adjoining communities, and to give the President and Congress knowledge of the overwhelming public opinion to be found throughout the country.

I say it advisedly, carefully and respectfully, that I believe American public opinion is far ahead of Congress.

Another point of our program that will be elaborated shortly is the expansion of American industry to produce thousands of airplanes and tanks and other materials of war, both for our national defense and for the Allies. There is a limit to the materials at the moment which can be spared from our armed forces, but there is no limit to the materials that American industry can produce for the Allies. It might have been more effective with France, and certainly would be very effective with Great Britain, if the President were in a position to say that we could assure to the Allies the delivery of a thousand planes a month for the next six months. The British Ambassador has said that if Great Britain can hold out until Christmas, victory will be possible. A pledge of a thousand planes a month would be invaluable in this situation.

Not only must our Committee stand against defeatism, but it must stand against appeasement. There always will be some to whom success is synonymous with right and who therefore will be inclined to forgive Hitler because he is winning. They will say that since he has won so much, we had better get on his good side and start doing business with him. We must oppose such evil appeasement. I conclude with the words of William Allen White in his telegram to you the other day, "Democracy still is militant."

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Clark M. Eichelberger". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name and title.

Clark M. Eichelberger  
Director

cme:mo  
enclosure

## Pending Legislation for an Embargo on War Materials to Japan

*Resumé of Pittman and Schwellenbach-Wallgren Bills*

S.J.RES. 123. Introduced by Key Pittman (Dem.), Nevada, July 11, 1939.

Until May 1, 1940, whenever the President shall find that any foreign state which is a party to the Nine Power Pact, is endangering the lives of citizens of the United States, or depriving such citizens of their legal rights and privileges in violation of the express provisions and guaranties in said treaty, the President is authorized to restrict or prohibit the export to such foreign state of arms, ammunition, implements of war, iron, steel, oil, gasoline, scrap-iron, scrap-steel, and scrap-metal. The authority granted to the President shall be exercised only to the extent necessary for the protection of the lives of citizens of the United States and the rights and privileges guaranteed to them under the Nine Power Pact.

S.J.RES. 143. Introduced by Lewis B. Schwellenbach (Dem.), Washington, June 1, 1939.

H.J.RES. 318. Introduced by Monrad C. Wallgren (Dem.), Washington, June 7, 1939.

There shall be denied export to all merchandise, munitions, etc. (except agricultural products) which there is reason to believe will be used in violation of the sovereignty, independence, etc. of any nation the United States is obligated by treaty to respect. The President shall issue proclamations specifying the article and materials to be denied export whereupon it shall become unlawful to export or attempt to export such articles or materials. Congress may disapprove proclamations by concurrent resolutions.

Taken from: "*Our Far Eastern Record: A Reference Digest on American Policy*" issued by the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. New York. 1940.



# What One Person Can Do

## Toward Ending America's Arming of Japan

*Here are concrete suggestions for the individual who wants to do his part.*

1. Write immediately to the President of the United States—(Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:)

asking him to use his great influence as a champion of human freedom, and of peace with justice to bring about an end to America's large sale of war supplies to Japan. Write in your own way, expressing what seems to you most important.

2. Write short, forceful letters to the Senators from your State and the Congressman from your district. The same letter will do for each. Ask them to give their vigorous support to the Pittman and Schwollenbach-Wallgren bills for the curbing of war sales to Japan. If true, tell them that your friends are also strongly in favor of such action. The correct names of your representatives can be secured by a telephone call to your local Board of Elections. Address each:

Hon. . . . .,

Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator (or Congressman): . . . . .

3. Get as many of your acquaintances as possible to write also. Leaflets and booklets published by this Committee may be found useful in presenting the question to them. Every genuine letter counts.
4. See that the question of America's arming Japan gets full publicity and discussion in your community. There are many ways in which this can be stimulated:
  - (1) through letters to the editor of your newspaper;
  - (2) through meetings, with due publicity (list of speakers available on request);
  - (3) through recommendations to program directors of radio stations for addresses or rebroadcasts;
  - (4) through requests to influential citizens for public statements or petitions to the President or Congress, with copies to the press.
5. Cooperate with others when possible. A leaflet, "Suggestions to Committees Working to Stop America's Arming of Japan" is available on request.

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE  
FOR NON-PARTICIPATION IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION  
8 WEST 40TH STREET  
NEW YORK

(OVER)

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NON-PARTICIPATION IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION  
8 West 40th Street  
New York, N.Y.

July 22, 1940

To our Friends:

The closing of the Burma Road for war supplies to China is serious. It is not yet disastrous. Whether or not China can maintain a strong resistance to Japan must now depend in large measure upon whether the United States continues to furnish Japan with extensive war materials and foreign exchange.

On July 2, the President signed the bill (HR 9850) which gives him full authority, in the interest of national defense, to prohibit or curtail the export of war supplies. On the same day, he issued a proclamation requiring that licenses be secured for the export of a range of war materials. These included: (1) Arms and ammunition. (2) Certain basic materials, including aluminum, antimony, manganese, rubber, tin, tungsten and wool. (3) Certain chemicals, including nitrates. (4) Aircraft parts, armor plate, optical instruments. (5) Metal working machinery.

From our standpoint, this action was important chiefly because: (1) It brought the new law into operation, with regulations for its administration. (2) It listed for export control a few important items beyond those already "morally" embargoed, notably metal working machinery. (3) It created a precedent for further restrictions upon the export of war supplies. The President explained that the action taken only set up the controls considered necessary at the time, and he indicated that the list of things requiring special license for export might be added to as occasion required.

Follow-up Needed Immediately

Iron and steel scrap, pig iron, copper, oil, gasoline, motor vehicles, and parts are not included in the above list. These are far more needed for Japan's war machine than the items enumerated. Most important of all are scrap iron and scrap steel. Japanese militarists, worried over scrap shortages and their inability to buy outside the U. S. except in small quantities, are very fearful of an American embargo. They realize the cumulatively crippling effect that this would have upon their military operations and armament program. On the one hand they are trying to step up their orders and, on the other, to intimidate the United States into continuing this indispensable help.

Let Us Concentrate on Iron and Steel, Oil, and Machinery

If you agree, will you please write and urge your friends to write, to both the President and Secretary of State now, urging a firm policy towards Japan in the face of fresh threats and provocations. Urge specifically that all metals, high grade gasoline and lubricating oil, and machinery and parts useful in war be added to the list of materials for which export licenses are required. Ask that licenses be not given for any export of these goods to Japan. Request also that further financial aid be given to China without delay. Write also to your own newspaper in support of such a policy; this is very important. If organizations with which you are connected will take up this demand, its effect will be greatly strengthened.

What Are the Arguments for Such Action?

1. While there is no immediate shortage of the above war materials in the U.S., our large exports (especially of iron and steel scrap) to Japan do reduce the supplies in this country. This tends to elevate the price of such materials at this time and therefore to increase the cost of our enormous defense program. It is the duty of our government to keep this cost as low as possible, at the same time conserving our resources for an unpredictable future.



2. Every continuing aid to Japan is a blow to China. And China, no less than Britain, is fighting our battle as well as her own. For she is seeking to stem the tide of aggression and ruthless dictatorship in the world. This she has done for three years, with increasing success. (See the enclosed map). So long as China's resistance remains intact, Japan's main strength is immobilized in Asia. Are we going to continue furnishing indirect body blows to our own great potential ally for freedom and democracy across the Pacific? Are we to continue helping Japan until China is driven to compromise or surrender, thus furnishing to Japan new accessions of strength and freeing her for further conquests in cooperation with the axis powers of Europe? Are we, at Japan's moment of near-exhaustion, to sustain her for future action inimical to our own security and to the peace of the world? Do we really believe that this kind of appeasement contributes to "peace in our time"? If not, then where is our power of decision?

3. Every continuing aid to Japan is also a blow to Britain, which beleaguered nation we are now trying to help. Japan tends increasingly toward close collaboration with Germany and Italy in their policy of "divide and conquer". From the Dutch East Indies, Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand, and India come vital supplies and manpower for England's epic struggle today. Every help to Japan increases the ability of her militarists to harrass and disrupt these vital links in Britain's defense today. While the aggressor powers are pulling together, our right hand, helping Britain, does not seem to know what our left hand is doing.

4. Even though the military clique in Japan has violated every treaty with us, we have furnished little effective resistance. We have even been afraid to stop our positive help to Japan, despite very widespread popular demand for such action. The aggressive powers have picked off, one by one, the weaker links among the freedom-loving nations; finally, even France is lost. But we seem unable to muster the courage needed even to stop helping the weakest link in their chain. A firm U.S. policy of "non-participation" in Japan's aggressions, even now, combined with further help to China, would produce an entirely new situation in Asia and the Pacific. The game of Japan's militarists would be up, whatever their final desperate gestures might be.

5. Our question lies at the heart of democracy and its survival today. Have we grown soft with comfort and ease, unable or unwilling to take those risks upon which the entire security of free nations in the world may depend? Are we so confused and divided in our own minds that we lack even the manly courage to stop aiding and abetting in the dynamic and systematic spread of force and lawlessness in the world, even when the risks of timid inaction are far greater in the end than those of a decisive policy?

This letter comes to you in strong terms because, with the world crisis deepening, there is less and less excuse for vacillation. And there is increasing danger that an attitude of defeatism, far more sinister than any fifth column, will spread among us, sapping our strength, and destroying our moral fiber and power of action. The ABC of the matter is that America now has but two certain allies left, Britain and China, for the task of preserving and rebuilding liberty, democracy, security, and cooperation in the world. It is to be hoped that Russia will swing away from Germany and join this group. China can turn the tide in Asia (where half the world's population lives) if we will act. Must we, instead, go on blindly helping to destroy her?

In your own words and your own way, please write the three suggested letters promptly. Please also continue to watch for and answer promptly, any further suggestions of an appeasement policy toward Japan at this time.

Roger S. Greene  
Chairman

Harry B. Price  
Executive Secretary

P.S. Events have necessitated a much more active program during the summer than was originally anticipated. For this we are urgently in need of additional funds. If you have not contributed recently to our work, can you do so now?





*Tea at Buenavista College, Habana, Cuba, in honor of Dr. John R. Mott. The guests were two hundred ladies of the missionary societies of the Evangelical churches*

need to continue the work with missionary aid.

Two incidents in the final session, in which the topic was 'The Christian Ministry,' showed the good relations between missionaries and nationals. Dr. Enrique Molina, leading the discussion, paid a tribute to the services of the missionaries and suggested that each Cuban preacher give a fraternal embrace to the missionary seated nearest to him. As he gave a hearty embrace to the president of the Conference, his example was followed by others on the floor of the Conference.

A little later Rev. Silvano Sanchez, president of the Committee on Interdenominational Relations of the Methodist Annual Conference, called attention to the retirement in July of Dr. Robert Routledge, president of the Northern Baptist College, because of age limitations, and to his valuable services of thirty-two years. He asked that Dr. Mott lead in prayer. Dr. Routledge, who was present, made a feeling response.

Following the Conference Dr. Mott met with a committee of fourteen, representing two representatives of each of the six denominations at work in Cuba, one representative of the American Bible Society, and one from the Cuba Council of Christian Education. During the luncheon there was an informal discussion of steps to be taken to conserve and carry forward the spirit of the Missionary Conference, and those present will constitute a sort of Continuation Committee. Dr. W. S. Rycroft, the new general secretary of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, was present throughout Dr. Mott's visit and contributed greatly to the several activities. He endeared himself to the workers in general.

On the day of his arrival, Dr. Mott addressed two meetings of Evangelical students that packed the auditorium of the Methodist Church. There is a recognized need for a hostel near the university to serve

some of the two hundred Evangelical students attending that institution; also for a student pastor such as they have in Porto Rico. For some time the organization of a Federation of Christian Students has been under consideration, and it is hoped that it may develop during the year. The student banquet was attended by one hundred fifty-two students and teachers and was a most happy occasion. On a Sunday morning Dr. Mott addressed about two hundred students in the auditorium of the Education Building of the National University. Dr. M. Rodriguez Vivanco, dean of the College of Pedagogy, acted as president of the meeting.

A luncheon in honor of Dr. Mott, given at the American Club, was a notable event. The American ambassador to Cuba presided. At his table, besides Dr. Mott, were the British consul general, the secretary of education of Cuba, the rector of the National University, Dr. Luis Machado, a national figure and president of the Alumni Association of our own Candler College, and other men prominent in Cuba's life. There were approximately ninety guests at the luncheon, half of them being of the Anglo-American residents of Habana, drawn from the religious, intellectual and business circles of the country. Dr. Mott's address was a masterly review of world conditions; the causes leading up to the present situation, and the progress of peace sentiment among the masses of the people. He proposed Jesus Christ as the only solution of the world's ills, Jesus and a pure gospel.

One of the very important events of Saturday was the tea in honor of Dr. Mott given by the principal and faculty of our Buenavista College. Dr. Mott's address to two hundred missionary women, assembled in Leland Memorial Church just across the street, preceded the tea to which they were the invited guests. Miss Ione Clay, the [CONTINUED ON PAGE 33]





*Planting a tree on Arbor Day, Lingnan University, Canton, China*

## A Report from Canton

*By A. J. Fisher*

WHEN we left Canton, China, there were over ten thousand refugees being sheltered and fed in various camps. Today, they are numbered by hundreds as far as the camps are concerned. The Refugee Areas Committee, formed at the beginning of the invasion, has decided that it is time now to close the camps. However, the economic problems of the refugees have been solved. Some are being rehabilitated with a small loan, others are being given travel money to go to some place where they have friends or relatives. There is still a residue of the absolutely destitute. It is heartbreaking to send these out into the world, but it was thought that an end of supporting these people in the camps must be made sometime, and it might as well be done now. To some extent, this problem of feeding them is being solved by 'soup kitchens'—that is, feeding stations where a bowl of gruel (soft-boiled rice with a few vegetables thrown in) is given to them once a day. This is being carried on in the churches of the city, and about twenty thousand bowls of gruel are given out in some twenty churches. For many, this is the only food they get. Some may be able to earn a little beside.

As far as people are concerned, our guess would be that there are probably about five hundred thousand. Some of the streets are

crowded. Some of the streets appear to be very much as in former days. The shops are open. A cursory glance indicates a certain degree of prosperity. But take a second glance—one sees underfed children, people in rags; others with a hungry starving look. Talk to the shopkeepers and ask them how business is. The answer is, 'How can business be carried on under this regime!' Rice today is two catties and four ounces for a National dollar. It costs at a minimum \$12 a month to feed a person sufficiently to give him strength to work. This is about all one person can earn. If such a person has anyone dependent on him, he is just out of luck.

The other difficulty is that of money. The Japanese have been trying to force the people to use their military notes. These military notes, of course, are just paper. Apparently the soldiers are paid with these notes. Their method in forcing the people to use these notes is by monopolizing the staple necessities of life—rice, oil, vegetables—and forcing the people to use military notes to buy these things. Another way they do is to go around to the shops, forcibly open the money tills, and exchange the Chinese money in the tills for military notes at the rate of \$2 N.C. to \$1 military note. The Chinese money is thus used to buy foreign cur-



*A student, True Light Middle School, Canton, China*



rency and thus secure foreign exchange for Japan to buy more war supplies abroad. It is easy to see how merchants become discouraged under such a state of affairs.

Another observation is the demoralizing influences that are going on in Canton city, and for that matter, in all parts of Japanese-occupied territory. Gambling shops, which are suppressed in China; opium dens, which are being eliminated as fast as possible in China; brothels, which were very much under control in Canton before the Japanese occupation, are all going full blast in Canton, being aided and abetted by the Japanese. In view of this, it seems ludicrous to read a United Press report published in the *South China Morning Post*, as follows:

Tokyo, February 16: Mr. Hajime Hoshi, interpellating at the budget subcommittee meeting in the Diet today, suggested an appropriation of 10,000,000 yen in order that Japan may co-operate with American missionaries in raising the cultural level of the Chinese. He added that it might be advisable for Japan to assist in raising funds in America for missionary work. Mr. Arita promised to study the proposal.

Cultural improvement indeed!

The fancies of the Japanese and the reality of things are far apart. Apropos of this, a little script in 'A Bird's-Eye View' column, which in a facetious way often says a great deal, had this to say anent the Kwangsi campaign: 'The Japanese have attained another objective and are therefore in retreat again. To save trouble in the future, it is planned to arrange with the Chinese to bring the objective with them.'

The Japanese have now been in Canton for practically a year and a third. It is true the streets look clean in certain sections of the city. They have cleared up some of the debris which they themselves caused through invasion. In most parts of the city the sewerage system is not working. Water is not being supplied. On the other hand, the traffic police have been very well trained. When all is said and done, how-



*Theater boats in the distance, Canton, China*

ever, scarcely one good thing can be said for the Japanese occupation of Canton. As far as 'saving China' is concerned, they are hurting and wounding China physically, morally, and in every other way. It has been said by the Japanese that they are 'saving China from her squeezing officials.' A case came to my notice of a 'squeeze pigeon' worse than any ever heard of being perpetrated by the Chinese. A certain firm in Canton had some raw silk which they wanted to ship to America via Hongkong. This shipment was worth about eighty thousand dollars, Mexican. Ordinarily, the freight to Hongkong would have been fifty dollars. They had to pay over five thousand dollars in 'squeeze' before they could get permission to ship to Hongkong.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Oldt, we were able to visit the site of the Union Normal and Middle School in the Western suburb. In spite of all protests being made, the buildings are being used as barracks for the Japanese military. Our car was allowed to proceed into the campus up to the front door of the main building. We were unable to discourse with anybody in sight. All we could get was gestures indicating 'Get out of here!' A young Chinese employed by them told us that the buildings were all occupied by the military, which was very apparent. Very little repairs apparently had been made, and as for the inside of the building, of course, we do not know what is going on.

While Dr. Karcher and I were driving through one of the main thoroughfares of the city, we met some Japanese soldiers in uniform apparently just strolling around. Suddenly, one Japanese soldier, who was either demented or drunk, hauled out his saber and hurled it at our car. Fortunately, his aim was too low, and it hit the pavement instead of the car. We quickly decided that it was not worth while to make an 'incident' of it, [CONTINUED ON PAGE 33]



*Scavengers, Canton, China*



# I Am a Woman Pastor

*By Rev. Dr. Anna Ruth Nuttall*



*Dr. Anna Ruth Nuttall*

**I** AM a woman pastor with full clergy rights, a member in full connection of the Louisiana Annual Conference. I was first ordained in the Methodist Protestant Church, I am holding for the second year a pastorate at Loranger, Louisiana. The community is not unused to the idea of women pastors, as there are two women Holiness preachers living near here. It is, however, the first time that the Methodist Church has had a woman pastor.

Two of the church members—men—before I came, expressed themselves as opposed to hearing a woman preach; one has not come to hear me, the other attends and helps when needed. The rest of the congregation, as nearly as I can tell, reserved judgment; but no one could have been more cordially greeted than I was, nor more kindly treated.

If the church members did not want a woman pastor, they successfully hid their feelings. The district superintendent told me, after I had been here several months, that some of the congregation had written him saying they liked my work and were glad I had been sent here. The mother of one of the Senior Leaguers has several times spoken to me of my greater interest in and work with the young people. A woman from the little church five miles away remarked, 'When we heard there was to be a woman pastor, we didn't know how she would be able to get around on these roads; but I believe you get around more than most of the men preachers did.' At the an-

nual church meeting the members expressed the hope that I would be sent back and cordially welcomed me upon my return. No one could ask for a kindlier group of people, nor a more co-operative one.

Geographically speaking, a man as pastor would have an advantage. This is the only church for several miles in every direction and the territory served is large, covering approximately one hundred square miles. The people are widely scattered, many of them living on dirt roads which in bad weather are very nearly and sometimes entirely impassable. When the roads are very bad, I am always able to find League boys who will drive for me. Thanks to their kindness, I am able to overcome that handicap.

Of course, there are some places to which I, being a woman, cannot very well go; but, on the other hand, I have an advantage in making sick calls upon the women and children of the congregation, and have also been invited by the wives to call upon their sick husbands as well. I have a very decided advantage in working with the women and children of the church. The Ladies' Aid welcomes me both as a woman and as the pastor, and I can be of much assistance to them. In my work with the Junior Church and with the children and young people I find my sex a help rather than a hindrance. It is easier for me to adapt myself to informal situations than it might be for a man pastor—such, for instance, as holding the story hours on the grass under the trees. One of our Vacation Schools will also be held in just such a situation next June. Often, too, I am called upon to act as substitute pianist for church organizations, and a few times I have had to be both pianist and preacher for the church services.

The following résumé of the activities of my church will give a picture of what one woman pastor is doing.

The Loranger Methodist Church is located sixty-five miles north of New Orleans, Louisiana, where the chief local industry is dairying, but there is enough interest in strawberries to cause the school schedule to be arranged with reference to the berry harvest. The school session extends from early June to the middle of March, and many of the special church days must be adapted to the same schedule. The time for milking the cows varies from two-thirty to four, both morning and afternoon. This fact of necessity also influences the church program. We can have very few night services except with the young people because of the early rising hours, and the afternoon milking schedule affects adversely many after-

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NON-PARTICIPATION IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION  
8 West 40th Street  
New York City

To Cooperating Committees and Selected Friends:

TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE WAR EXPORTS TO JAPAN BEEN STOPPED?

As indicated in our recent memorandum, the President on July 2 issued a proclamation requiring that licenses be secured for the export of:

1. Arms and ammunition.
2. Certain basic materials, including aluminum, antimony, manganese, rubber, tin, tungsten and wool.
3. Certain chemicals including nitrates.
4. Aircraft parts, armor plate, optical instruments.
5. Metal working machinery.

Beyond items already "morally" embargoed the most important category in this group is metal working machinery.

On July 25 the President issued a further proclamation and subsequent regulations in which the following were listed for export control:

1. Aviation motor fuel or high octane gasoline and materials from which this gasoline can be extracted, including hydro-carbons, hydro-carbon mixtures, special crude oils (about 10% of the total output) and tetraethyl lead.
2. Aviation lubricating oil.
3. No. 1 heavy melting steel scrap.

No positive announcement has been made to the effect that all of these materials will be refused export licenses, but it is believed that the Japanese will have great difficulty in procuring the listed supplies from the American market henceforth. Thus very substantial progress has been made toward a stoppage of American war supplies to Japan.

The curbing of exports of aviation gasoline and aviation lubricating oil and their ingredients are particularly important, since these are commodities which Japan will probably have increasing difficulty in obtaining elsewhere. Japan now has rather limited facilities for the production of high octane gasoline necessary to the efficient operation of modern plane engines. The extension of such facilities is costly, the time involved in erecting plants for the purpose is at least one year, and the necessary ingredients may not easily be procured. The curbing of exports of scrap steel will increase the cost and difficulties of steel production in Japan, probably necessitating increased imports of manganese. However, it is still possible to manufacture steel armaments and other products from secondary grades of scrap, and from iron ore, given the necessary alloys.

WHAT WAR SUPPLIES CAN JAPAN STILL PURCHASE FROM THE UNITED STATES?

Among the materials still obtainable from the United States for maintaining and expanding the Japanese military establishment, the following are believed to be the most important:

1. Secondary grades of iron and steel scrap. These include car sides, auto frame stock, parts of agricultural implements, scrapped autos, fences, lockers, roofing, etc. While not as



satisfactory or economical for the manufacture of steel and steel products as No. 1 scrap (sheet bars, billets, blooms, rail ends, railroad steel, new mashed pipe ends, etc.) they can still be used.

The latest regulations cut off probably only about one quarter of Japan's total imports of scrap from the United States.

2. Pig iron, wrought iron, and other forms of raw material, including alloys for iron and steel production.
3. Finished steel, for which the Japanese are reportedly endeavoring now to place huge orders approximating 200,000 tons.
4. Copper.
5. Lead.
6. Gasoline other than high octane aviation gasoline.
7. Crude and lubricating oil other than the grades used for airplanes or as source for aviation fuel.
8. Motor vehicles and parts used for tanks and military trucks.

#### ACTION

Action may now be best directed toward assuring the Administration of strong popular support for the restrictions already levied and urging that as promptly as possible the very important war materials which Japan continues to buy from us at a rapid rate be placed also under export control and that their sale to Japan for use in her aggression against China and for the further upbuilding of her military and naval strength be banned. Your letters to Washington and to the press do have weight; their combined influence has repeatedly been demonstrated.

There has been marked progress in our unified effort. The legislative hurdle is passed, the necessary administrative machinery has been created, and important war supplies have been listed for government control and restriction. One might say that the half-way mark has been reached. Shall we see it through? If you have recently written can you enlist further the active cooperation of your friends and of organizations with which you may be affiliated? Messages to the President and letters to the press are particularly effective when they are related to the most recent developments in the Far East or the U. S.

- - - - -

Enclosed for your reference is a copy of Admiral Yarnell's nation-wide broadcast made recently in Boston. In substance it goes beyond the scope of this Committee's work but you may be interested in his statement on page 3 of the relationship between the Far Eastern war and that in Europe, and the bearing of each upon American policy.

We have on hand a considerable number of reprints of the map, reproduced from "PM", which was recently sent you. If you have use for these as well as for extra copies of recent memoranda or literature, we shall be glad to mail them to you at cost. We are particularly anxious to achieve a wider distribution among thoughtful and influential people of the booklet "Shall America Stop Arming Japan?" A printed slip bringing the story of recent developments up to date is being prepared for insertion in this booklet.

August 9, 1940

Harry B. Price  
Executive Secretary

# PEIPING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE

## CONVOCATION SERVICE

SEPTEMBER 22, 1940

CONDUCTED BY

REV. O. A. GRIFFITHS

*Head of the Department of  
Religious and Social Work*

Thy mercy, O Lord, reacheth unto the heavens:

And thy faithfulness unto the clouds.

Thy righteousness standeth like the strong mountains:

Thy judgements are like the great deep.

And the children of men shall put their trust under  
the shadow of thy wings.

For with thee is the well of life, and in thy  
light shall we see light.

*From Psalm xxxvi*

## PRAYER FOR THIS COLLEGE AND HOSPITAL

O God, from Whom cometh every good and perfect gift, send down upon all connected with this College and Hospital the healthful spirit of Thy grace. Enable them to pattern their lives after the Example of Thy Son Who went about doing good and healing all manner of diseases. Prosper the work of teaching and healing. Endue all these Thy servants with the fruits of Thy Spirit to the end that all their deeds may become blessings to the people of China and may glorify Thee to Whom be praise and honour, world without end. Amen.

## “WHAT DOEST THOU HERE?” 1 Kings XIX. 9

This question is taken out of its context to serve another purpose but we need not forget that it was a question put to a prophet who had hidden himself in a cave because of fear. We will return to that presently but for the moment the question is going to be directed in two ways. In the first place the question is put by the College to the Department of Religious and Social Work; and, secondly, it is directed back from this Department to the College as a whole.

“The first reason for the existence and continuance of the Department of Religious and Social Work in the College is the sense of the Founder that he had a moral obligation to see that such a Department be established and maintained in the institution upon the foundations of the original Union Medical College. If this, however, were the only reason the resultant status of the work might well become formal and unproductive. There is another and more vital reason for its existence, namely the conviction that it gives concrete recognition to one aspect of the work of training medical workers without which the other aspects lose in force and effectiveness”.

*(from the Report of the Sub-Committee on the Department of Religious and Social Work made in June, 1936).*

Before attempting to give in rough outline a survey of the field covered by the Department it may be profitable to sketch the background against which the work is carried on. The broad background is a Medical College and Hospital whose primary purposes are the training of doctors and nurses, the prevention and cure of disease, and scientific research. Engaged within the institution are 300 staff members, around 160 students and a very large number of employees of various technical grades, making a total in personnel of over 1750. These then with their widely differing attainments and background form the large group upon which this Department endeavours to make some impression.

Of the religious attitude of this body it is difficult to make any accurate appraisal. However, the following observations may be made as a result of a very short experience and if serious



error is committed I hope the short experience will provide a ground for the exercise of your forgiving power.

There is present among the Medical Staff as a whole a single-mindedness in its devotion to the cause of Medical Science and, using the term 'religion' in its original sense of being that to which you give your allegiance, I regard this devotion as the predominating religious attitude prevailing among the members of the staff. We shall return to this later but at the moment it is very necessary to say that the present speaker has received from these members very great encouragement, much inspiration, and a good deal of sound advice. Among students the same devotion to the cause of Medical Science is shown but it is naturally more theoretical and they live their lives under the shadow of the impending judgment days which take place in the examination room.

Concerning the interest of the body in religion, using that term in its more generally accepted sense, it is exceedingly difficult to make a judgment. If attendance at this and other services be taken as a criterion we should have to reach the conclusion that only a small percentage of the staff and student body is interested in religion. But I am not prepared to accept this criterion of judgment. It is by no means always true that absence from corporate worship is due to indifference much less to opposition. We, the representatives of the Christian religion, have made many mistakes. Only too often our actions belie our words and our presentation of that living faith which has defied the centuries and the onslaught of the temporal powers has been lacking in relevance, prophetic zeal and spiritual power.

In the second place the vast majority of staff and students pass their days under a terrific pressure; lack of time rather than lack of interest is true of the majority. The danger in this is a real one and it must be recognized. Many students come from Colleges and Universities with an enthusiastic faith. Soon, under pressure of studies, the enthusiasm wanes; 'This one thing I do' becomes the exclusive occupation and the faith which once kindled the imagination and fired them with a purpose for life tends to become dim. Where interest is maintained it is maintained despite the system.

Science deals with demonstrable values; religion also deals with demonstrable values. The one carries out its experiments in the laboratory, the other in the broad field of human relationships. Both demand faith in an ultimate and the flame must be kept alight. You ask that a man shall give the energies of his mind and spirit to the pursuit of scientific truth. I ask that recognition be given to the fact that no sectional truth which we may pursue between birth and death can usurp the contemplation of the all-embracing truth of God who is the meaning of our very existence, the purpose of our lives, and to whom and in whom we shall live when these bodies of ours grow tired and we lay them down; and we may hope that there will be no doctors in heaven. You can only be a specialist for a certain number of hours each day. For the rest of the time you have to be a human being. Some have forgotten that at the expense of their wives and families. And the very living of a human life stings into existence the hundreds of questions about the meaning of our lives to which only religious faith and truth can give an adequate answer.

Here then is our chief task. To cause to be heard in this College and Hospital, despite the defectiveness of the instruments, the voice of the Living God; to know who and what He is; what He has done and is doing; and what that particular way of life is that we call the "Christian Way"; what it demands and what is its fulfilment.

This attempt is made through this service each Sunday morning; through occasional series of lectures; and through a number of discussion groups held in the various hostels and dormitories.

The Department is further responsible for various activities headed by the term "Social Work". These may be briefly enumerated.

(a) The development and expression of the musical talent among our community. A large number of those present will remember the very high standard of choral work reached last year and the great contribution which was made to many of these College services. I am happy to be able to say that the person who conducted the College Chorus last year with such outstanding ability has kindly consented to do so again this year.

(b) The organizing of social parties, dances and excursions whereby staff and students may come to know each other and enable the spirit of friendly relationships to have its way with us, for an harmonious atmosphere as well as medical efficiency depends to a greater extent than we sometimes realize upon the truth of the saying, "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy".

(c) Through the Social Centre an opportunity is given for educational and recreational activities among a large number of the employees of the College and, arising out of this, a small committee being anxious to help in the education of some of the children of our employees has proceeded to do so and we are now assisting over three hundred families in this way.

The Social Centre is also the meeting place of our morning and afternoon Sunday Schools carried on by a keen and efficient group of teachers.

(d) The last and by no means least important activity that needs to be mentioned is that carried on so excellently by the Chinese Service Committee. This Committee has made itself responsible for the carrying on of the Chinese service every Sunday afternoon, services in the Tuberculosis Hostel in the North City, Bible classes and Prayer meetings. A number of voluntary workers from other centres assist in this work and I should like to take this public opportunity of expressing our deepest thanks to all those who have given of their ability and time to helping us in this way.

By such means and along the ways outlined we continue with unabated zeal in a setting fraught with not a few difficulties. When, therefore, the question is asked, "What doest thou here?" I want to make answer, "I am very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts". If His Word is made to be heard in such a way that men and women may come to hold their faith in sincerity and truth as the central guiding and controlling principle of their activities; if through belief in One in whom we all live, move and have our being, a doctor's attitude towards a patient is one not merely of cold scientific detachment but one of love and compassionate understanding; if our friendships within this College

and Hospital are those of comradeship in the pursuit of a common purpose, then the Kingdom of God which has been termed "the Kingdom of right relationships" is advanced in this place.

The question may now be turned towards the members of the College: "What doest *thou* here?" If you come with sincerity of heart and mind you come for at least four reasons which are summed up in an ancient liturgical form: "we assemble and meet together to render thanks to Almighty God for all the benefits we have received at His hands; to set forth His most worthy praise; to hear His most holy word; and to ask those things which are requisite and necessary as well for the body as the soul". You come because you believe in God and realize your dependence upon Him. You come for inspiration, instruction and spiritual power because you are intensely dissatisfied with things as they are and you desire to equip yourself with a strength other than your own so that you may take your part in working towards some better thing than this poor present shows. This is being expressed in simple terms; it might be expressed in theological or philosophical terms, but most of us are neither philosophers nor theologians but simple men and women at heart who are desperately concerned about our world and who are ready to try to understand its clamant needs and how they may best be met. Our great need is not for knowledge, the greater part of our knowledge has far outrun our measure of control of it - our need is for spiritual insight which comes from a firmer hold upon those eternal truths which provide a standard of judgment amidst the sin, the perplexity, the pain and the tragedy. And then, our greatest need, the bringing of our wills into line with the will of God for therein lies the source of our power to do anything of permanent good for this distracted world of God's and ours.

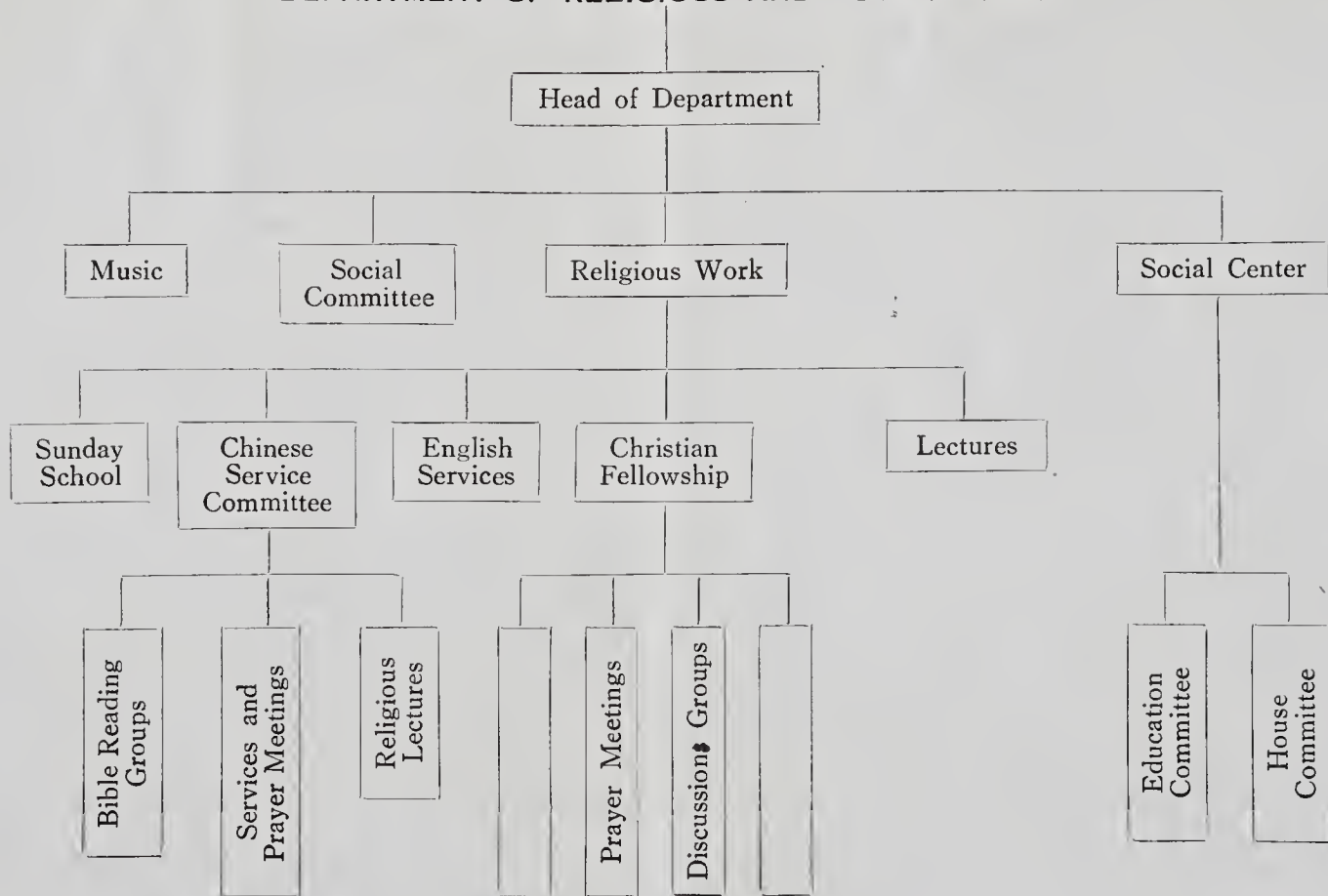
There is one concluding note. The ancient prophet was told to go and stand on the mountain before the Lord, in other words, to get out of his hiding place, and when he went out he heard the still small voice. We are all in the habit of hiding in caves thereby narrowing our minds and impairing our vision and effectiveness. "Ministers of religion are sometimes apt to ask people to turn aside at the end of the day from the office, the laboratory, the consulting room, the school-room or



the home in order, as they say, "to give part of your time to God". But what do they think that the people have been doing all day?. If God is not present in the enterprises, the scientific research, the school and the home I cannot conceive where in the world He is. It is true that these gifts and activities fall short of their full fruition, lack just that redemptive touch which releases them into richest grace and energy, unless they are gathered in the focus of personal and public prayer and worship into conscious relation to God. That is of great importance. But what at the moment most needs to be emphasized is what religion is most prone to forget - that the gifts of life, its tasks, its claims and its pleasures, can never be brought within Christian ethics until we have trained ourselves to conceive them, not as alternatives to the Christian life, but as its material and its opportunity". (F. R. Barry).

Doctors, students, nurses, you may hide yourselves in the caves of your medical work and feel that therein you will find a sense of completion. But you must be aware of the fact that while medical and scientific advance make life healthier, more wholesome and more comfortable, they cannot *of themselves* effect moral and spiritual progress. Moral and spiritual progress depend upon the changing and enlightening of the human heart and mind and this can only happen in so far as we catch a new vision of God in His love, holiness and power; realize that through sin we have distorted the image of God in which we were made and come again in penitence to sit as children at the feet of One who taught us by what He was, by what He said and by what He did of the things that belong unto our peace.

# DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WORK





from

Miss Lucy M. Burt, Assistant Professor  
Department of History

Yenching University  
October 21, 1940

Dear Friends,

You who are reading this letter in England and America will understand the joy which came to me last weekend as I found myself back once more at Wo Fo Ssu, watching the dark shadows of the pine trees in the moonlight, listening to the drums in the Hall of the Buddhas and the next morning waking to catch sight of the great ginko tree golden as its leaves were touched by the dawn light. What would you give yourselves to be back here with us watching the glory of a North China autumn on the campus, in the hills, and sharing the glowing radiance of comradeship as together we turn to face the gathering darkness of the international storm.

To anyone returning to Yenching from Europe, first impressions of the apparent normality of campus life, the absence of black-outs and air raids, the absorption in full-time academic work without evacuees or makeshift classrooms is startling and precious. Here for a few weeks at least is an opportunity to regain poise and balance in the health-giving occupations of normal and constructive educational work. But you will hardly need to be told that such impressions, true enough in their way, give anything but a complete picture of life in occupied territory. Letters from New York, which many of you are seeing, fill in more details than we can write, but I doubt if they give any idea of the effects of the present disturbance on the lives of the village people as we see them in Haitien, and further away from Peking conditions are much worse. The terrible rise in the cost of living is one of the most obvious troubles; corn meal is 20 cents a catty and the cheapest cotton cloth 40 cents a foot. A noticeable increase in employment in unskilled occupations brings some slight amelioration but is very far from meeting the needs of all, and with starvation staring them in the face is it any wonder men yield to the temptation to turn informer, so easy a job and so well paid? The wonder to me is that so many resist, willing in hunger to maintain their independence and honor.

For the students, an extension of scholarship grants and of self-help work goes a considerable way to meet these increased costs, but many other troubles press in on educational institutions and now the uncertainties occasioned by the new political developments add very considerably to the strain. To anxious inquiries about the possible evacuation of foreigners the President replies calmly that the Yenching foreign members of the faculty are too absorbed in their work to be affected by an order aimed at people without jobs; that in case of real emergency the University has plans, and that for the present we shall do well to go on calmly with our work!

Against this rather gloomy background and even darker outlook the developments of our Christian work here stand out most encouragingly, not so much in the increased membership of the Christian Fellowship, including now nearly 1000 members of the community, as in the quality of the work which is being done. One of the most promising signs is the way in which at last younger members of the faculty are coming forward to take their share in Christian work. The visit to Wo Fo Ssu last weekend was occasioned by our annual Fellowship Retreat, and in meetings on Sunday lasting from 10:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., and attended by more than 150 people, practically the whole responsibility was carried by young Chinese. With the exception of Dr. Stuart as closing speaker, T. C. Chao as Chaplain, and J. F. Li as Chairman of the Fellowship, there were no "old hands" responsible for the administration of the conference or the program itself. Wang Chung-han with a group of



students organized the Retreat, including the provision of lunch brought from Yen-ching; Weng Tu-chien, a Harvard-Yenching fellow just back from years of study in Europe preached an excellent sermon on the power of the Christian life. In the afternoon while students discussed their problems in groups under the guidance of Dr. Chao, C. F. Wu opened the proceedings for the Faculty group and our small groups were led by young Chinese teachers from the Departments of History, Physics, Physical Education, and Political Science. We look forward now with very much interest to see what practical results will emerge as a result of the discussions.

It is a great joy and inspiration to have T. C. Chao back with us again with his experience not only of Madras but even more recently of active evangelistic work done among the students at Kunming. He is taking now the main responsibility for the Sunday morning services where the numbers keep up fairly well. The Hammond organ is much appreciated and the singing has greatly improved, but it is the sermons which are one of the main attractions. Yesterday Yuan Yung-chen, headmistress of the Presbyterian Girls school told me that two of her young folk, freshmen at Yen-ching, and neither of them Christians told her that they look forward to attending chapel every Sunday because Dr. Chao is so interesting. Most of us would echo that opinion but would add much more, for those services now with their very much deepened sense of the spirit of corporate worship are becoming in quite a new way the centre and inspiration of our life as a Christian community. T. C. is wonderfully eloquent as he speaks of the foundations of our faith on an unshakable experience of God, and the challenge of living in Christian fellowship in this modern world, but even more impressive to me as I come back to Yen-ching again from Europe and America, is the sight of our community itself. Its limitations are obvious; how well we all know the charges which can be rightly levelled against our practice of Christian living, but haven't Christian communities been like that at all times and in all places? Isn't it one of the marvels of the Christian Faith that the powers of Love have dared to work through men and women like us and through Christian communities who as they stumble and falter and sin begin to discover their weakness and dependence upon God?

This sounds more like a sermon than a news letter, but I know so well how you are asking yourselves as I did all last year, "How would it look if we could get back?", and the experience is so vivid to me I must try to set it down: "It looks just like that!" Yen-ching is one of the many communities now established throughout the world in which the constructive powers of Love are at work. The shape which our life takes, perhaps even its very existence owes much to our leaders, to the Peter, the John of our little group, yet much too depends on the work of every member and it is the sense of comradeship in service here and with others all the world over which is one of the most tangible evidences of value in a world gone mad. The opening paragraphs of the first epistle of John come so often into my thoughts; it is in the fellowship of witness to what we have seen that joy is fulfilled.

Your friend,

Lucy M. Burt

# HAVE A HEART FOR CHINA

*Bulletin of the Church Committee for China Relief*

105 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.

BULLETIN A-25



OCTOBER, 1940

## PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS OF PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CHINA

By Eugene E. Barnett

I SPENT ten days in Japan, and then went on to Korea, Manchuria, North China, Shanghai and Hongkong. I was in West China for the better part of a month. Conditions in North China were a lot worse than I expected to find them. Paradoxically, the morale is a lot better than I thought it would be.

In Hopei they had had floods, drought and locusts; floods around Tientsin, drought in the south and locusts in the west. In Shantung conditions are terrible. Shansi is in about the same situation. The soldiery and banditry add to the difficulties, if you get outside of the towns. In between lines of communication sections covered by the 8th Route Army and by Central Government troops are in pretty good order. There are good reports of both these armies but there are large areas in which all government has been overthrown and guerillas and bandits are preying upon the people.

### Ten Million Facing Starvation in Hopei

In Hopei, in the middle of the summer, 10,000,000 were facing starvation. There is no way of reaching these people with help except through mission agencies. Any *ad hoc* organization for relief would be suspected on one side by the Japanese and on the other hand by Chinese and any material sent across that North China area would be in danger of falling into the hands of either the Japanese or Chinese guerillas. The churches are carrying on. British missionaries have been driven out of certain places.

There is a Coordinating Committee in North China. Relief can be gotten here and there to people. Conditions are ghastly and anything that this Committee can do to help will be mighty little in comparison with the need that exists.

Things are rather sad when you move south into East China. The situation there is not so acute as in North China but there is enormous need. A routine statistic from the Shanghai Municipal Council reports tens of thousands of dead picked up on the streets of Shanghai,—people who died without a bed to die in. There are people in Shanghai who are making money but you have an enormous congestion of people who have moved into a small area, many of whom are in dire need.

In West China you have the refugees but they seem to be shaking down and getting settled. It was impossible to get the number of cities and towns which have been bombed. I think they have lost count. Almost everybody you meet comes from a bombed town. I was in a number of bombings and I can testify to their devastating effects. Enormous multitudes of people in Free China are without decent shelter.

### A Devoted and Able Group

I have come back from China with my conviction greatly increased that this Committee has an almost ideal arrangement in its connection with the American Advisory Com-

mittee. There you have a Committee that has an experience in flood and famine relief covering a period of fifteen years. Business men and missionaries on that Committee are men who have continuous contact with actual situations all over China. They know China better than any other group of men in the world. They are a volunteer group, and they give a great deal of time to this work. It has become one of their major interests and I think that we cannot stress too much that after the funds have been raised we have a committee that has not only ability, knowledge and contact but experience to help them put the money where it is most needed and do most good. The money is actually administered by Protestant and Catholic missionaries with no overhead expense.

### Morale High in Spite of Blockade

In North China I was amazed to find, as I said, that conditions were far worse than I expected but paradoxically the morale was very high. A correspondent of the *New York Times* when I asked him about this, stated that it is the conviction of these people that China is going to come through this ordeal a free and independent people. The answers as to question of morale were uniformly the same.

I was in Chungking when the Burma road was closed, when Hongkong was blockaded, when Haiphong was definitely closed and when the Ningpo corridor was closed. Everybody with whom I discussed these things recognized the seriousness of the blockade. If they had not I would have distrusted their judgment. The feeling was that China would have to suffer more and struggle longer. They feel that the issue at stake is whether 450,000,000 people and their descendants for generations to come are going to be free or slaves. That feeling nerves them for whatever the punishment awaiting them may be. The morale in free China is beyond praise. A good many people are working in new factories. Some of those factories will be permanent. Some of them are war-time institutions. There will be a good many people who will return to the coast where transportation is easier and markets nearer but there will be a permanent residuum in the west. That applies to educational and cultural as well as industrial institutions.

### China's Doors Closed

During the past year at least 70% of China's war supplies and her supplies for reconstruction work in the west came in through the Indo-China railway. The closing down of that railroad and of other doors into China means that equipment already delivered, which they had hoped to use on three new railways, certain power plants and other enterprises, will now have to be used for making rifles. They will not be able to import heavy armaments. They do not think they can bring the war to a military conclusion but they think they can continue the struggle by that method.



## HAVE A HEART FOR CHINA.

Bulletin A-25

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### BY POST AND CABLE

#### S. O. S.—We Need Funds

*To American Advisory Committee*

At our committee meeting this week, we decided to stop all relief work for the time being as we are out of funds. We will distribute relief this coming Friday and tell the folks we are sorry but there is nothing more till we hear from you.

I hate to think what the poor people will do when we stop this week, but we have to do it. Nothing like a full crop has been planted and much of it is dying in the field for lack of water. The canals are extremely low and pumping is impossible in many places. To add to this, I heard yesterday that a worm has struck the crop in some places and you doubtless know what that means.

JNO. C. HAWK

#### The Only Relief Committee Left

*To American Advisory Committee*

During the past few months, Shanlien has been facing the hardest time, because the two opposing armies have been shifting back and forth many times. The population, now only the poorest left, has suffered terribly.

The local Shanlien Committee had expected to purchase two hundred piculs (about 2,600 pounds) of rice, figured at \$30 (Chinese currency) per picul with your second donation of \$3,000 plus their local fund. Unfortunately, fighting came again and rice became very scarce, suddenly costing almost \$70 per picul.

The Shanlien Methodist Committee is now the only one left continuously doing relief work for the suffering people. Their main expenditure is for rice distribution. About 5% of the money is used for medicine and education. There has been no expenditure for administration from relief funds ever since the Committee was started.

Shanlien Relief Committee

K. Z. LOH

#### Thanks, Sixteen Thousand Times

*To American Advisory Committee*

We wish you would express for us to the Church Committee for China Relief in America, and to other groups from whom you have received funds out of which you have made allocations to us, our sincerest thanks on behalf of the destitute people of Nanking for the money contributed.

To attempt to state in words what these funds have meant in the relief work we have been doing here, would be most difficult. It probably would amount to the repetition of a simple story of hardship some sixteen thousand times or more, each time for one of the sixteen thousand destitute families whom we relieved after thorough investigation.

Drawn, haggard worried faces; undernourished, emaciated bodies; many ill and unable to work, even if employment could be found. No food, no money, no one to depend upon, no other place to turn to, no other hope. Begging, imploring, surrounding you and holding on to your clothing so you could not get by without being apparently rude and heartless.

That's the kind of people which came to us by thousands. Their anxious faces would continue strained until the very minute the rice was placed in their hands.



Some would say "thank you, thank you," some would utter words like "good people, good people," some would mutter "now today I can eat some food." But the faces of all shone with thanks. Such expressions of satisfaction of destitute people when receiving help so seriously needed, are not easy to state in words. But that is their thanks to those who have contributed either small or large sums to help meet their need, and in their name we thank you for them.

Nanking

HUBERT L. STONE

#### Reasons for Hope and Courage

*To American Advisory Committee:*

I am just returning to the work after nearly a year's absence on a holiday in the Philippines and residence in our rural work centers. During this period our city has been reoccupied on two occasions, and we are still under outside authorities.

It is not surprising that there has been no opportunity to audit the city wall project accounts and report to you. The detailed accounts, including a whole storeroom of vouchers and receipts, have just been audited and I enclose to you in duplicate a transcript from the accounts, signed by the three co-treasurers, and myself as auditor.

From personal relief funds I financed an interesting project in the late winter — digging a great ditch to drain off a flooded area to the west of our city into the Hwai River about a mile away. The land was reclaimed in time for spring planting, bringing relief to hundreds of people. I could even endure the final ceremony of formally opening the "ditch" into the river, with the usual photographic set-up and laudatory speeches, from the safe distance of thirty miles. There is nothing further to report under the vast "relief" subject.

The repaired city wall is our outstanding relief project. There it is — strong and whole, having saved the city from inundation, to say nothing of the relief to outlying villagers and boat people. Quarries as silent tombs for three years were restored to action, and it was a good sight to see boats with their sails just a series of patches, plying back and forth with loads of stone, bricks and lime. I still thank God for the hope and courage that came to men and women from that city wall project.

Today a dollar buys only two pints of rice; other prices have advanced in like proportion. It is all very bewildering.

Showhsien, Anhwei

MABEL STEELE JONES



# CHINA HAS A SERIOUS SHORTAGE OF DOCTORS AND NURSES

## Side Lights on the Medical Situation

CHINA has only about 10,000 registered physicians and only about 7,000 registered nurses for a population of 440,000,000. These are figures recently presented in New York by Dr. F. C. Yen, a Christian physician who is Director of China's National Health Administration which is affiliated with the Department of the Interior and deals with civilian health and medical care. He gave interesting facts not only about his own work but also about the Army Medical Administration.

Obviously 10,000 physicians for such a huge population are a mere handful even in peace times. But now they have to treat hundreds of thousands of wounded soldiers and civilians, and in addition must cope with severe epidemics carried by the millions of refugees.

If China were as well supplied with doctors as America is, she would have fifty-five times as many as she has now. On the other hand if America were as poorly supplied with doctors as China is, we should have—instead of the 165,000 we actually do have—only 3,000 for this whole immense country. These facts should help us to realize what agonies the wounded must go through in China, without sufficient medical care.

### 3,000 Beds for 40,000 Wounded

During the first three months of the war, the care of the wounded was entirely in the hands of private relief groups, including the National Red Cross Society of China, which is not a governmental agency. The wounded during those three months numbered 40,000 yet only 3,000 beds were available in hospitals. In the ensuing three years the Army Medical Administration has assumed the chief responsibility for the care of the wounded soldiers, so that now, according to Dr. Yen, there are 300,000 beds in the army base hospitals not counting field hospitals. For these hospitals a personnel of at least 20,000 doctors and nurses is needed, which is more than the total number in all of China. Consequently there has been developed a system of short term courses for giving training to orderlies and technicians so that they can help the doctors and nurses in many practical ways.

### Controlling Epidemics

Civilian medical care, with which Dr. Yen is chiefly concerned, is a colossal problem for there is a great deal of sickness among the refugees who have left their homes and are either on the highways, or concentrated in temporary camps. The danger from epidemics is very great with such large numbers of undernourished people moving about.

As one way of meeting this danger, The National Health Administration has started one hundred "Mobile Anti-epidemic Units" functioning only in Free China, and charged with both preventative and curative responsibilities. About thirty "Highway Health Stations" are maintained, each being responsible for the highways of a single county, with a small central station and two sub-stations. These highway health stations, maintained by the National Government, serve as object lessons to local authorities who are urged to duplicate them.

In view of its own inadequate medical resources, the Chinese Government welcomes aid from other sources. For the third successive year, the League of Nations has sent an Epidemic Commission to China. The United States Public Health Administration and the Rockefeller Foundation have also sent experts who have given valuable assistance.

The help offered in various ways by Christian organizations is much appreciated. One form of assistance was organized by Rev. A. R. Kepler of the National Christian Council and is called "Care of Wounded in Transit." It deals with a

very serious problem, for often the wounded are in transit for weeks at a time. The plan is to use Christians, wherever they are found in cities and villages, to serve as volunteer workers, to meet the wounded as they arrive, give them first aid and to provide them with hot water and warm clothing, and to pass them on to the next Christian group. Dr. Yen was connected with this project before he became Director of the National Health Administration. This "Care of the Wounded in Transit" project is now so much appreciated that the Government is subsidizing it to the extent of 200,000 Chinese dollars.

### Friends of the Wounded

Another project called "Friends of the Wounded" was started by a young Christian named William Hsu, a teacher in a Methodist school. On a long trip in 1938 he saw the terrible plight of the wounded, and as a Christmas resolve decided to do something to help. With his friend John Wang, he started the society "Friends of the Wounded," with volunteer workers stationed in hospitals to do washing, sewing, letter writing and other jobs for the wounded and also to teach them to read and to sing. This organization has become very popular and Christians and non-Christians are now working together under Colonel Huang of the New Life Movement.

### Hospitals and Medical Schools

Far more important than these last two projects is the help given to China through missionary hospitals and medical schools. When the war started in 1937, there were 271 of these mission hospitals with a total capacity of 18,266 beds, and with a staff of 858 physicians, 1,596 nurses and 3,769 nurse pupils. There were five important medical schools.

With the outbreak of war the mission hospitals were taxed to the utmost to accommodate the wounded soldiers and civilians brought to them. Then the migration began, the well-to-do going first, leaving behind the poorer people who increasingly needed medical attention because of the hazards of war and the floods and famine which ensued. But these classes were unable to pay fees, so that the incomes of the hospitals were curtailed just when they were busiest. Some of the hospitals have been hit by bombs. Medicines have been hard to secure. Yet the work has gone on.

Help from abroad has gone mainly to Free China. The mission hospitals in occupied territory could not continue to do their magnificent work were it not for the continued support given by the Mission Boards supplemented by substantial grants from the Church Committee for China Relief.

### Topics in Brief

There are about eight million Chinese living outside of China. These overseas Chinese have contributed for the relief of their mother country one hundred and eighty million Chinese dollars during the last three years, or an average of five million dollars a month.

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Only \$200 has been required to transmit sums amounting to \$600,000 from Shanghai to Chungking for the Church Committee for China Relief. (Both figures are given in Chinese currency). This is only one-thirtieth of one per cent, and is very remarkable considering that war is raging and that Shanghai is in the occupied zone whereas Chungking is in Free China about 1,500 miles up the Yangtze River. This unique record is due to the resourcefulness of Rev. C. B. Rappe, D.D., who has been acting as treasurer of the Central Coordinating Committee.



## Message of General Chiang Kai-shek To Chinese in Occupied Areas

On this important anniversary I would like to give a message to our fellow countrymen in Shanghai and in occupied areas. I would also like to give a message to the people of the entire nation. When I think about the term "occupied area" my heart is filled with grief. Ever since the enemy started invasion, our sacred soil has been tampered with and we, the descendants of Huang Ti, have been subjected to brutal murder and unspeakable persecutions. I consider my duty is not faithfully discharged as long as my fellow countrymen have not been fully liberated. I would like to remind our compatriots in Shanghai and throughout occupied areas again that I have never forgotten their personal sufferings and that I have not for a moment shirked my duty. . . .

Every Chinese should faithfully observe the principles of the national spiritual mobilization movement. People should admonish one another not to place their services at the disposal of the enemy and the puppets. Although not every one of us is armed, we all have the special heritage with which we are duty bound to fight the enemy. Our compatriots in occupied areas can resist the enemy's offensive against the Chinese morals by exerting will power and refusing to enter enemy sponsored brothels, opium dens and gambling establishments which are designed to weaken our power of resistance. . . .

## What They Said

The appalling situation of Chinese refugees is more terrible than eighteen months ago when I was about to leave China for America. Today the number of refugees is about 60,000,000 which is more than the whole French population or a little less than half the population of the United States.

BISHOP PAUL YU-PIN

*in The China Monthly*

\* \* \* \*

Churches must relieve suffering. Though the long-range campaign for the banishment of poverty, unemployment and starvation must go on steadily all the while, the present crisis of destitution and bitter suffering among millions of the victims of persecution and war makes a claim upon us that no Christian can deny.

GEORGIA HARKNESS

*in Christian Advocate*

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You may find it hard to believe, but the children, knowing none of the horrors of air raids, long for the enemy planes to come so they can have a tea party in the dugout. We have succeeded in our efforts to make the occasion a gala one for the children, if not for the parents.

AN AMERICAN MOTHER

\* \* \* \*

During the nearly twenty-five years in which I have been in China, many times the section in which I have lived has been visited by famine conditions. During this period there have been several severe famines; but at no other period have I known the situation to be as desperate as at present.

Our section of China has undergone bombing and blockade and it has also been a battle ground for many months. Now it is occupied by the Japanese forces. The cost of grain and other foods has grown to eight or ten times the normal price. This makes it impossible for large numbers of the people to get enough food to keep them alive because their incomes are decreased rather than increased by the present situation. It is a desperate situation involving millions of people. The funds coming from the Church Committee for China Relief through the American Advisory Committee have helped tremendously in our district. The need is even greater now than it was a few months ago.

W. C. McLAUCHLIN

People who were not interested in the foreigner's religion are now coming to church. They want to know what it is that keeps the Christian calm and steady during days like these.

ROSE L. FECHER  
*in Evangelical Missionary World*

\* \* \* \*

The embarrassment from which I have not here escaped in these weeks of travel was experienced again at the repeated requests for Bibles, to which we were unable to respond. . . . Young people and officials and business men who are very much up to date — maybe I should say because they are very much up to date — are asking for the Bibles.

DR. CARLTON LACY  
*in Evangelical Messenger*

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A "Children's Dramatic Corps" has attracted nationwide attention in China. At a meeting of many leading officials they sang "Wandering Warphans", moving many of the audience to tears. General Feng Yu Hsiang was so touched by the pathos of the song that he wept bitterly.

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Word comes from Chungking that "as a precautionary measure, indoor shows are suspended during the bombing season." But the production of new motion pictures goes on apace in spite of bombs.

## Giving as an Act of Worship

I cannot worship God while millions are hungry and I do nothing to help feed them. To prepare myself for worship, and as an act of worship, I make this offering to War Emergency Relief.

Our Father, . . . give us this day our daily bread.  
Amen.

Name .....

The above inscription is printed on the contribution envelope issued by the War Emergency Relief Commission of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1720 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo. This commission asks for at least \$100,000 this fall to go through guaranteed agencies to the succor of Chinese Refugees, Missions in Distress, Protestant Churches of Europe, Prisoners of War, European Refugees.

Two Sundays — November 10 and December 15 — have been designated for special offerings for these causes.

## Perfume Project for China Relief

Why not use Chinese perfume for Christmas presents? Attractively put up in burlap-covered bottles, tied with red silk ribbon and sealed, the perfume comes in four scents, Sandalwood, Lotus Blossom, Wistaria and Jasmine, and sells at 50 cents a bottle. If sold for China Relief or your denominational war relief program, the profit will be \$50.00 per gross. The perfume may be purchased in half-gross or quarter-gross lots as well. No charge for postage within New York and New Jersey. Unused quantities may not be returned. This project is well suited for church fairs and women's groups.

For further details write to:—The Christmas Perfume Project Department of the Church Committee for China Relief, John V. Bell, Oriental Perfume Company, 18 East 53rd Street, New York City.